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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

IRAQ

PART 4

January to December 1950

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
General Correspondence			
1 Sir H. Mack (Bagdad) No. 2	1950 4th Jan.	Annual review of events in Iraq during 1949 ...	1
2 Sir H. Mack No. 56	1st Feb.	Ali Jaudat Government's resignation ... Disagreement between the Cabinet and Regent over the proposed Iraqi-Egyptian agreement to abstain from interference in Syria.	6
3 Sir H. Mack No. 62. Tel.	6th Feb.	New Iraqi Cabinet ... Its composition on 5th February.	7
4 Sir H. Mack No. 43	21st Feb.	The Tawfiq Suweidi Government ... His Majesty's Ambassador's comments on its composition and future prospects.	7
5 Sir H. Mack No. 130. Tel.	9th Mar.	Political situation in Iraq ... The resignation of opposition deputies.	8
6 Sir H. Mack No. 50	6th Mar.	Programme of the Iraqi Government ... Text of the Prime Minister's statement to Parliament.	9
7 Sir H. Mack No. 71	23rd Mar.	Political situation in Iraq ... Reasons for the resignation of the entire Parliamentary Opposition. Dislike of Nuri Pasha and his Shaikhly sup- porters. Sunnite resentment at the predominance of Shi'ites in the present Cabinet.	12
8 Sir H. Mack No. 64	21st Mar.	Iraqi-Syrian Union ... A public lecture by Nuri Pasha Sa'id on Iraqi-Syrian Union and the Collective Security Plan; the danger of Israel as a bridgehead for the Communist bloc in the Middle East.	14
9 Sir H. Mack No. 115	15th May	Visit of King Faisal II to Iraq, 30th March to 8th May ...	15
10 Sir O. Franks No. 1691. Tel.	17th June	International Bank Loan for Iraq ... The signature on 15th June of the loan agreement; the prospect of further lending.	16
11 Sir H. Mack (1) No. 34. Saving. (2) No. 35. Saving.	19th Sept.	The Nuri Al Said Government ... Composition of the Nuri Al Said Government formed 16th September; His Majesty's Ambassador's comments.	17
12 Sir H. Mack No. 212	21st Sept.	Attitude of Iraq towards the Arab League ... An assessment of the attitude of Iraq towards the Arab League in the light of her support of Jordan claims for sovereignty over cis-Jordanian territory. Differences of opinion between Iraq and other League members regarding the conception of Arab unity.	18
13 Sir H. Mack No. 215	25th Sept.	Political situation in Iraq ... Background to the Cabinet crisis in Iraq culminating in the resignation of Tawfiq Suweidi Pasha; the record of his Government; the question of new elections.	19
14 Sir H. Mack No. 247	28th Nov.	Nuri Al Said's lecture on Iraq and the world situation ... The Prime Minister's public lecture on 14th November on "The Development of War and Policy in the 19th and 20th Centuries"; his advocacy of the Supreme Defence Council and examination of the problem of the Iraqi attitude towards East and West.	21
15 Sir H. Mack (1) No. 648. Tel. (2) No. 649. Tel.	28th Nov. 29th Nov.	Nuri Pasha's views on the 1930 Portsmouth Treaty ... His dissatisfaction because of "world developments"; solidarity with Egypt in its demand for revision of the 1936 Treaty; His Majesty's Ambassador's comment that the speech was designed for internal consumption.	23

TABLE OF CONTENTS

iii

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
16 Sir H. Mack No. 154	1950 1st July	Annual report on the leading personalities in Iraq for 1950 ...	[1
17 Sir H. Mack No. 151	1st July	Annual report on the heads of foreign missions in Iraq for 1950	[29

SUBJECT INDEX

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS —17.	EXTERNAL RELATIONS— Iraq and the Arab League—12. Nuri Pasha's views on the 1930 Portsmouth Treaty—15. Public lectures by Nuri Pasha—8, 14.
ANNUAL REPORT ON THE LEADING PERSONALITIES —16.	INTERNATIONAL BANK LOAN—10.
ANNUAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR 1949—1.	RESIGNATION OF THE ALI JAUDAT GOVERNMENT—2.
COMPOSITION OF THE NURI AL SAID GOVERNMENT —11.	RESIGNATION OF OPPOSITION DEPUTIES—5, 7.
COMPOSITION OF THE TAWFIQ SUWEIDI GOVERNMENT 3, 4.	RESIGNATION OF THE TAWFIQ SUWEIDI GOVERNMENT —13.
	SUWEIDI GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME—6.
	VISIT OF KING FAISAL II TO IRAQ—9.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING
IRAQ—PART 4

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

EQ 1011/1

No. 1

IRAQ: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1949

Sir H. Mack to Mr. McNeil. (Received 17th January)

(No. 2. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, *4th January, 1950.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a political review of events in Iraq during the year 1949, for the writing of which I am indebted to Mr. Richmond, Oriental Counsellor at this Embassy.

I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda, Tel Aviv, the British Middle East Office, His Majesty's Consular Officers in Iraq, and the Air Officer Commanding in Iraq.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 1

I.—General

Nuri Pasha's tenth Cabinet covered eleven months of 1949. His Government took over on 8th January and was replaced by that of Ali Jawdat on 10th December. Nuri left Iraq at the end of the year for a sea voyage to Bombay, but his newly-formed political party is now the strongest single group in the Chamber of Deputies and his support or opposition must therefore have a strong influence on the fate of the present Government.

2. The most pressing tasks which confronted him on becoming Prime Minister were to put Iraq's financial position upon a better footing, to obtain a solution of the Palestine problem which would not be a total defeat for the Arabs, and to reassert the authority of the Iraqi Government over subversive elements in Iraq. Although the financial position did not get worse during 1949 and although Nuri succeeded in liquidating the commitment of the Iraqi army in Palestine, he was fully successful only in the third of these tasks.

II.—Domestic Affairs

3. Nuri's original Cabinet was not a strong one. There was no Minister of

Finance, and the Ministers of Communications and Works and of Education were not fully in the confidence of the Prime Minister. The Under-Secretary of Finance was made Minister at the end of January but proved to be a source of political weakness rather than strength to the Cabinet. Efforts to strengthen the Ministry were made during March, but these were not fully successful. Saleh Jabr, whose powerful position on the side-lines has had an important effect on the political situation throughout the year, pressed for the appointment of Tawfiq Suwaidi as Deputy Prime Minister, but Umar Nadhmi was finally appointed in spite of some opposition from the Minister of Communications and Works. At the same time, Dr. Jamali, who had only just presented his Letters as Minister in Cairo, was brought back to take over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the newly-appointed Governor of the National Bank. A supporter of Saleh Jabr was brought to the Ministry of the Interior. By the middle of August, the Cabinet's weakness was becoming notorious. There were internal differences and the Ministers of Finance and Social Affairs were openly attacked for corruption in the press. The general opinion was that Nuri must either reconstitute his Cabinet or resign. In these circumstances, he consulted Saleh Jabr, Tawfiq Suwaidi, Jamil Madfai and Ali Muntaz, and submitted his proposals for a strengthened Cabinet to His Royal Highness, who was then in London. Tawfiq Suwaidi was to be Deputy Prime Minister and Ali Muntaz was to take Finance. The Regent deferred consideration of these proposals until his return to Bagdad. When he did return he refused them, because of his distrust of Tawfiq Suwaidi. A long period of uncertainty followed, during which abortive discussions continued between Nuri and the Regent. Eventually Nuri presented his resignation on 5th November, but this was not immediately

accepted. Attempts were made during November by Ali Jawdat and Muzahim Pachachi to form a new Government, but these also broke down, largely owing to differences of opinion with the Regent. After Ali Jawdat's failures, Nuri carried on and met Parliament on 1st December with a short speech from the Throne which foreshadowed the immediate formation of a new Government on a basis of co-operation between differing elements. Ali Jawdat then tried again and succeeded in producing a Government which does not command very much confidence. It has been interesting to note the growing strength of the determination among politicians to resist the direct interference of the Regent in the choice of members of Iraqi Governments.

4. There has been little or no increase in the strength of the older political parties in Iraq. The Liberals are dead, the National Democrats moribund, while the Independence Party remains weak, both numerically and financially. There is, however, a growing realisation in Iraq of the necessity for party organisation in political life, and the leaders of the parties are no longer ignored when Cabinet changes are under discussion. Nuri Pasha has taken some trouble to moderate the hostility towards him of the Independence Party, and in forming a party of his own has acknowledged that even a politician of his calibre can gain political strength from party organisation. This was a tribute to the effectiveness of the older parties which they scarcely seem to have deserved. Nuri's party is not a party in the Western sense. Its programme is the usual collection of vague generalities and its membership consists of Nuri's political friends, a few of those who were his enemies and served in Rashid Ali's 1941 Cabinet, together with a large number of tribal deputies. The inclusion of members of Rashid Ali's Cabinet has not been well received by those who remained loyal to the Regent, and the recruitment, in support of one political group, of tribal sheikhs who are normally relied upon to provide the main parliamentary voting strength of any Government in power, has been criticised as likely to introduce into the Iraqi Parliament the same instability which characterises Iraqi Governments. The formation of this party has encouraged others, one of which has received the sanction of the Minister of the Interior. None of these new parties represent any permanent political ideas, and it is very doubtful how long they will last.

Their formation, however, will probably increase the chances of the older parties of playing a larger part in political life. Nuri's party, however short-lived it may prove to be, now controls the largest group in the Chamber of Deputies and the Government lies at its mercy.

5. Nuri came to power at a time when public security, which had improved during the late summer and autumn of 1948, was again deteriorating. The anniversary of the Portsmouth Treaty riots was at hand and both the Nationalists and the Leftists were planning to exploit the occasion. The Government took strong precautionary measures, making full use of Martial Law. Some demonstrators were arrested, tried and sentenced on the same day. Troops stood to, police were reinforced and no serious disturbances took place. At the same time, police action against the Communists was pursued with renewed vigour, and this has continued throughout the year. At the end of 1948 the Government were seriously considering the closure of the Soviet Legation in Bagdad and although this intention seems to have been shelved, the Legation remains under the closest police supervision and police action against the Communist organisation is being vigorously pursued. The Government have succeeded in breaking up a series of central committees of the Iraqi Communist Party during the year. The sixth such committee, according to the police numbering, is now under arrest. Members of the first of these committees were originally arrested during 1947 and some of them sentenced to death. These sentences were reduced on appeal, and the leader of the party was apparently able to continue to direct its activities from prison. For these activities he and some of his associates were tried in secret by Court Martial in February 1949 and this time the four death sentences imposed were carried out. A fifth capital sentence was carried out on 31st May. Since then, the successive central committees have been broken up at an increasing speed, and the toughness and resource of the Communists appears to have weakened. With the lifting of Martial Law at the end of the year, the police profess to fear that their efforts to root out communism will be hampered, though it is difficult to see the need for any stronger weapon than Article 89a of the Bagdad Penal Code, which makes the profession and dissemination of Communist beliefs a crime.

6. Although Iraq ceased in July to incur extra expenditure on keeping her army in

Palestine, she continued to lose revenue which she could ill afford by refusing to allow the reopening of the Haifa pipe-line and the financial situation of the Government remained throughout the year precarious. Various projects of the Finance Minister for reducing Government expenditure and increasing the State Revenues led to little result, and for most of the year the Government was struggling to find sufficient money to pay the monthly salaries. During the latter part of the year ordinary revenue was covering ordinary expenditure, but this improvement was largely illusory as some of the receipts resulted from the sale of Government stocks of wheat and sugar and from advance payments of income tax. Although receipts from customs and excise, which make up approximately 40 per cent. of the total revenue, appeared to be coming in slightly in excess of the estimates, it is doubtful if the final figures for revenue and expenditure in the year 1949-50 will achieve the balance shown in the budget estimates and no progress has been made in paying off Government debts which at the end of the year stood at approximately 8 [text unreadable] million dinars.

7. On his return from the United Kingdom at the end of August, Nuri Pasha announced prematurely that agreement had been reached in principle for a loan of ID.3 million from the London money market to meet the expenses of the Iraqi State Railways, a loan of ID.4½ million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for development projects, and an advance payment of ID.3 million from the Iraq Petroleum Company. In the event negotiations were finally completed in London in November for a Railway Loan of ID.3 million, chiefly to enable the airways to pay off their debts to British firms, but the Iraq Petroleum Company insisted on making the re-opening of the Haifa line a condition of their advance payment of ID.3 million. Negotiations between the company and the Government for a revision of the royalty rate were carried on first in Bagdad during the spring and later in London, but no agreement was reached and the matter was left in suspense pending the ratification by the Persian Majlis of the Persian Government's new agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

8. Two Missions of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development visited Iraq to study the possibility of the

Bank advancing money for development purposes. The second of these Missions discussed the question of lending 8.4 million dollars for dollar expenditure on the first stage of the Wadi Tharthar scheme for flood control, but no final decision had been announced by the end of the year.

9. Commercial activity was restricted partly owing to reluctance of the Jews to put forward money and partly owing to the Government's policy of reducing imports in an effort to redress the extremely adverse trade balance of 1948. There was, however, an excellent grain harvest and in May the Government decided to lift the ban which early in 1948 had been placed on the export of all grains. As a result approximately 300,000 tons of barley were shipped from Basra to India, Japan, and the United Kingdom and various European continental ports. There were also limited exports of wheat. The date crop was unfortunately struck by blight and was computed to be 40 per cent. less than that of 1948. The cost of living, having declined steadily throughout the earlier part of the year, rose slightly during the last quarter, chiefly owing to the increased cost of food and the increased price of most imported goods following devaluation.

10. In spite of Iraq's grave financial position it has not proved possible to persuade the Government to take the political risk of re-opening the Haifa pipe-line. Apart from their fear of Nationalist reaction to such a step, and their reluctance to be the first Arab country to breach the Arab blockade of Israel, Nuri and other Iraqi politicians are concerned to avoid any action which would increase the economic strength of Israel. They are genuinely afraid of Israeli expansionist plans and will not allow Iraqi oil to serve them if they can possibly avoid it. The argument that Israel is losing very little by the continued closure of the Haifa pipe-line while the Arabs are losing much, has not convinced them, and the closure of the Haifa refinery in December because of the heavy costs of importing crude oil from the Western hemisphere has further weakened it. Nuri has given indications that Egyptian permission for oil tankers bound for Haifa to pass through the Suez Canal or Lebanese permission for the shipping of oil from Tripoli to Haifa would create a situation which might enable him to re-open the pipe-line. It is perhaps doubtful whether in fact the fulfilment of either of these conditions would lead to its immediate reopening, and in any case neither the

Egyptian nor Lebanese Governments are yet prepared for such action. The best hope of obtaining re-opening remains steady and sympathetic pressure on the Iraqi Government who are increasingly conscious that both their cash position and their hopes of development depend on the flow of oil.

11. Iraqi plans for development have been seriously hampered through the year by shortage of cash. No Development Board has yet been constituted, although a law has been drafted for this purpose. The work on the Habbaniyah flood control scheme for the Euphrates has been slowed down and financial arrangements for the Tharthar scheme for Tigris flood control are not complete. There has been slow progress in railway development. The Kirkuk-Erbil extension is in operation and the Euphrates bridge for the Kerbala extension has been built.

III.—External Affairs

12. The suspension of supply of arms resulting from the Security Council embargo made Anglo-Iraqi relations somewhat difficult during the early part of the year. For the first quarter of the year the Iraqi army was holding a sector of the front in Palestine and their stocks of ammunition were insufficient to last many days if intensive fighting had flared up again. The Israeli press conducted a war of nerves alleging Iraqi aggressive patrol activity which seemed to be designed to justify an Israeli attack in advance. In the same period the Iraqi Government were anxious about internal security. The spring rumours of the impending return of Mulla Mustafa al Barzani, this time assisted by Russian money and arms, were circulating, and the police ammunition situation was even worse than that of the Army. Nuri made every effort to persuade His Majesty's Government to provide "purely defensive weapons," "arms for training purposes" or "arms for internal security," but without success, until June, when arms for internal security were released. By then the Iraqi army was out of Palestine and the Mulla Mustafa scare was over. The complete raising of the embargo in August, therefore, had less effect than would have the case earlier. Ammunition began to arrive in September and October and the relations between the Military Attaché and the Ministry of Defence, which had been somewhat strained during the first part of the year, are now excellent.

13. Nuri's Government took over under a pledge to implement the resolution on Palestine passed by both Houses of the Iraqi Parliament in November 1948. This resolution provided for the adoption of unified military and political plans for the redemption of Palestine. Nuri must have known that military plans were no longer realistic in January 1949 but he did make the gesture of offering to the Egyptians the assistance of an Iraqi mobile column should the operations in which the Jews had driven the Egyptians from the Negeb be resumed. On the political front Nuri's ruling idea was to avoid any direct contact with the Jews and to attempt to persuade the United States Government and His Majesty's Government to impose on the Jews, either directly or through the Palestine Conciliation Commission, some solution which the Arabs would accept. His attempts to unify the Arab point of view, which he originally hoped would be put by King Ibn Saud to the Palestine Conciliation Commission, or to the American member of it were based on the following principles:—

- (1) The Security Council resolutions should be brought into force;
- (2) The Palestine Conciliation Commission should deal first with the Jews;

according to Nuri, if these conditions were satisfied, the Arabs would negotiate provided that—

- (i) the city of Jerusalem should be Arab;
- (ii) the Israelis should be disarmed by international action;
- (iii) the refugees should return to their homes;
- (iv) the Port of Haifa should be effectively internationalised.

14. Although Jamil Madfai visited several Arab capitals to put Nuri's ideas before their Governments, Arab agreement could only be obtained on the first and third of Nuri's points. The third point became the basis of the Arab approach to the Conciliation Commission. Nuri's policy was doomed by the Arab States' suspicion of each other's motives and one by one they entered into separate armistice agreements with Israel. Nuri's determination that Iraq should not negotiate with Israel, in spite of the fact that the Iraqi army was holding a sector of the Palestine front, caused some difficulties in the Transjordan-Israeli negotiations which the Jews did not

fail to exploit. There seems no reason, however, to believe that the Jews would not have been able to blackmail the Iraqis as successfully as they blackmailed the Transjordanians at Shuner, had they agreed to negotiate themselves. The arms embargo had deprived the Iraqis just as much as the Jordanians of the means of resisting such blackmail. Nuri's failure to make any progress towards a settlement on the lines of his points, was apparent by March, and all that remained for Iraq was to withdraw her army from Palestine. This was accomplished during April, and Iraq took no part in the deliberations of the Palestine Conciliation Commission at Lausanne. Her further activities on the Palestine issue were confined to a lone stand at the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation for an Arab Jerusalem, and her association with the Arab States' *démarche* to the State Department of 14th November, when they asked the United States Government to compel Israel to implement the territorial provisions of the 1947 Partition Plan, which they maintained had been agreed by the Lausanne protocol of 12th May, 1949.

15. Iraqi relations with the Arab League and with its States members were dominated during 1949 by the emergence as an immediate political issue of the so-called Fertile Crescent scheme—union between Iraq and Syria. Arab unity is a permanent Arab nationalist aspiration, and the Palestine war had clearly shown how impotent were the Arab peoples in their divided state. The welcome given in Syria to King Faisal II when he passed through in 1948, Musa Alami's book advocating the union of Iraq, Syria and Transjordan as the only answer to Israel and, above all, the return of Nuri Said to the head of the Iraqi Government had brought Iraqi-Syrian union to the forefront of Iraqi nationalist thinking.

16. Colonel Zaim's *coup d'Etat* was therefore welcomed in Iraq where it was thought to have removed, in President Kuwatly, the main obstacle to Iraqi-Syrian union. Jamal Bahan was sent to test the ground in Syria. He returned with an unfavourable report on Zaim personally and on the chances of obtaining union through him. The arrival, however, in Bagdad of a mission from Zaim, who was at that time looking round the Arab world for support wherever he thought he could find it, revived Iraqi hopes. This mission offered to Iraq a Military Alliance and an

Economic Agreement, and requested in return political and military support for the Zaim régime. Nuri replied cautiously and correctly but he was sufficiently encouraged to go himself to Damascus to meet Zaim. This visit was a complete failure and from thenceforth Zaim depended for support on Egypt and pursued a policy of uncompromising hostility to both Hashemite countries. The Iraqis, however, maintained their belief that political opinion in Syria was overwhelmingly in favour of the union and that if this opinion was given the chance to express itself constitutionally, union would automatically result. They set themselves somewhat clumsily to discredit the Zaim plebiscite, while Zaim counter-attacked with stories, which were without foundation, of Iraqi troop concentrations on the Syrian frontier. The second *coup*, which removed Zaim, delighted the Iraqis, but, perhaps remembering the failure of his visit to Zaim, Nuri did not act precipitately. Iraqi envoys visited Syria and Syrian envoys came to Iraq with proposals for various forms of closer association. At this period the Syrians seemed to want to go faster and further towards union than did the Iraqis, and the Iraqi belief in the Syrian desire for union appeared to have been well-founded. The declaration in its favour by Kuwatly's old party, the Syrian Nationalist Party, seemed a further proof of this.

17. It soon became apparent in Iraq, however, that Syrian enthusiasm for union was waning. The Iraqis attributed this to the influence of outside Powers who had reasons of their own for wishing the *status quo* maintained. At the same time Nuri's attempts to obtain a "green light" from the United States and United Kingdom Governments were met by reiteration of the complete neutrality of these Powers. In these circumstances, the Arab League meeting in October became a fencing match between supporters and opponents of Iraqi-Syrian union although, in Arab fashion, the question was not directly discussed. The Egyptians introduced their proposal for an Arab collective security pact which seems to have been designed to give the Syrians some alternative security to that promised by Iraqi-Syrian union, while the Iraqis concentrated their efforts in an attack on the powers of the Arab League Secretariat. This question had strained Iraqi-Egyptian relations earlier in the year and had led to talk of Iraq leaving the Arab League.

18. Enthusiasm for union in Syria was now definitely declining, although the elections made it the Popular Party, which was believed to favour it, the strongest party in the Syrian Assembly, its leaders were not prepared to announce a policy of union. As the Syrians grew cooler, the Iraqis increased their efforts, sending various oddly chosen individuals to attempt to influence Syrian opinion. These were at a disadvantage financially *vis-à-vis* the Saudi agents, and it already seemed very unlikely that Syrian-Iraqi union would come about when the removal of Hinnawi by further military action killed all immediate hopes of this result. The new Iraqi Government, whose Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs is a strong exponent of the necessity for good relations between Iraq and Egypt,

will probably not pursue this policy with the same vigour as did Nuri Pasha.

19. The Regent paid a State Visit to the Shah of Iran during June 1949, but although a number of questions were discussed, the State of Iraqi-Iranian relations remains much as it was before. During the year some steps were taken towards setting up a frontier delimitation commission.

20. Anglo-Iraqi relations have survived the year which saw the British recognition of Israel and her admittance to the United Nations. There have even been signs of a mitigation of Iraqi Nationalist opposition to an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, but it must be admitted that progress towards economic development and political stability which are the main positive objectives of British policy towards Iraq, has not been notable during 1949.

EQ 1017/4

No. 2

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Iraqi Government's Resignation

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 2nd February)

(No. 56) *Bagdad,*
(Telegraphic) *1st February, 1950.*
My telegram No. 55: Iraqi Government's resignation.

Immediate cause of Government's resignation was difference of opinion between Cabinet and Regent who was prompted chiefly by Nuri Pasha and Istiqlal Party over the proposal which Muzahim brought back from Cairo on 30th January for an Iraqi-Egyptian agreement to abstain from interference in Syria for a period of five years. Prime Minister supported Muzahim. The Regent and his advisers objected to a close partnership with Egypt and to an agreement with Egypt on a long-term policy of non-intervention in Syria. There seems to have been no desire for compromise on

either side. The Prime Minister told me last night that he intended to tell the Regent to-day that he must find another Prime Minister if he did not approve of present Government policy.

2. If this dispute had not arisen some other pretext would have been found for bringing the Government's resignation. It was a fatal mistake of the Prime Minister to ignore Nuri Pasha when he formed his Cabinet. Nuri Pasha claims that sixty-one members of the Chamber have joined his party and that twenty-six other members support him. He could therefore have voted the Government out of office when Parliament meets unless Regent restrained him.

EQ 1017/5

No. 3

COMPOSITION OF NEW IRAQI CABINET

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 6th February)

(No. 62) *Bagdad,*
(Telegraphic) *6th February, 1950.*
My telegram No. 56.
Iraqi Cabinet was formed on 5th February as follows:—

- (1) Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs: Tawfiq Suwaidi.
- (2) Interior: Aleh Jabr.
- (3) Communications and Works: Saiyid Abdul Mehdi.

- (4) Social Affairs: Tawfiq Wehbi.
- (5) Defence: Shakiz Al Wadi.
- (6) Economics: Dhia Ja'far.
- (7) Education: Sa'd Umar.
- (8) Finance: Abdul Karim Al Uzri.
- (9) Justice: Hassam Sami Tatar, with Portfolio.
- (10) Hazim Shemdin Agha.
- (11) Jamil Al Urfali.
- (12) Khalil Kenna.

EQ 1017/9

No. 4

THE TAWFIQ SUWEIDI GOVERNMENT

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 28th February)

(No. 43) *Bagdad,*
Sir, *21st February, 1950.*

As reported in my telegram No. 62 of 6th February, Tawfiq Pasha Suweidi formed the present Iraqi Government on 5th February. Its composition came as a surprise to Iraqi opinion which had been led to expect a coalition Government which would have included Nuri Pasha and members of the Istiqlal Party who, with the assistance of the palace, had been most active in causing the fall of the previous Government. There was another cause for surprise in that Tawfiq Pasha formed a Government which contains no political supporters of his own.

2. As late as October 1949 the Regent told me that he would never accept Tawfiq Pasha as a Minister. He has not told me why he changed his mind. All he said was that he would never again say that he wouldn't ever have anyone! Tawfiq Pasha may have been selected as Prime Minister because he was willing to accept the premiership on any terms, while neither Nuri Said nor Saleh Jabr was willing to form a Government. One of these two was the obvious choice for Prime Minister. The Regent wanted Saleh Jabr; and Nuri's party, which is to some extent Saleh Jabr's party also, has a majority in Parliament. Nuri presumably did not wish to form a Government at a time when there seemed little chance of his playing a prominent rôle in Arab affairs and there also seems to have been a general feeling that his participation in the Government might make matters

worse with Egypt. Saleh Jabr was reluctant to take power on the grounds that opposition to him was still too strong. He says that he only entered the Government at the insistence of the Regent.

3. The absence of any Istiqlal representative was explained in a vague statement by the party leader to the press. The gist of this statement, which was very obscurely worded, was that the party had been approached to join a coalition Government which was to have been formed from the political parties and the parliamentary groups. The party had put forward conditions designed to ensure ministerial harmony and had asked for guarantees on policy towards Iraqi-Syrian union. In the event, the Government had been formed on a different basis from that on which the party had been approached. The real reason for the Istiqlal decision not to join the Government was a revolt led by the more extreme personalities in the party, who were supported by the rank and file, against the decision of the party leader and Siddiq Shenshal to join the Cabinet. The extremists refused to agree to Istiqlali participation in a Government containing Saleh Jabr and Shakir al Wadi, and rather than split the party the leaders put forward demands for various key portfolios which they knew would be rejected.

4. The Prime Minister stands alone in this Government which is a combination of the supporters of Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. The Ministers of Communications and Works, Finance and Education are primarily

Saleh Jabr's men. The Minister of Economics divides his loyalty between the two, while the Minister of Social Affairs and two of those without Portfolio are Nuri's supporters. The Minister of Defence is, as you are aware, the Regent's man. There was bad blood between him and the present Prime Minister after the elections on 1947, in which, assisted by the Government and palace, he narrowly defeated Taufiq Pasha in the latter's home constituency. The remaining members of the Government are of no political weight. Saleh Jabr is by far the strongest Minister and it is already clear that he is not fully trusted by the Prime Minister.

5. The parliamentary position of the Government is, for the time being, fairly secure. A member of the High Committee of Nuri Pasha's party has told us that they have pledged their support to the Government for three months. In the elections for the vice-president of the Chamber the Government candidate obtained sixty-one votes which is almost exactly the number of Deputies claimed by Nuri Pasha as members of his party. The Opposition vote, which totalled forty-two, was made up of the Constitutional front, a group headed by Nasrat al Farisi, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Government of Mohammed el Sadr in 1948, the Popular Parliamentary front whose members are mainly young and well-educated, but whose political tendencies are ill-defined, the Istiqlal Party, the National Democratic Party and a few Independents. In the Senate the elections for Vice-President resulted in a narrow victory for the Government candidate by ten votes to nine. There were, however, at least nine absentees, most of whom would probably have voted for the Government candidate.

6. It might be assumed that as long as Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr are agreed, and as long as the Prime Minister can keep the

peace with Saleh Jabr, this Government could stay in power. In Iraq, however, the possession of a working majority in Parliament is no guarantee that a Government will continue in office. Almost all Iraqi Governments can count on such a majority, and their fate has hitherto been decided not by votes in Parliament but by a combination of factors, some of which are very obscure. Important among them are the Regent's confidence, the security and financial situations, the state of feeling among Nationalist youth, and such factors as the balance between Sunni and Shi'a. This last factor always comes to the surface when Saleh Jabr, who was the first Shi'a Prime Minister of Iraq, is in power, and there are many who are bitterly opposed to Saleh Jabr on personal as well as political and community grounds and who are watching for any opportunity to bring him down. His action in prosecuting the Director-General of Police, as reported in my despatch No. 41 of 20th February, has already caused people to deplore his vindictiveness and to hold that he was activated by anti-Sunni motives. The general expectation in Iraq is that this Government will not last many months.

7. From the point of view of British policy in Iraq it will be unfortunate if this expectation is fulfilled. Apart from the undesirability in principle of frequent changes of Government this Cabinet is more receptive than many to our ideas about economic development and in Saleh Jabr it possesses the most energetic and effective Iraqi politician. The Government programme was presented to Parliament on 16th February. It announces their intention to establish an independent Development Board and I hope they will last long enough to realise this intention.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1016/4

No. 5

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Resignation of Opposition Deputies

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th March)

(No. 130) *Bagdad,*
(Telegraphic) *9th March, 1950.*

Thirty-seven Deputies, virtually the whole Opposition, submitted their resignations on

7th March after a scene in the Chamber on 6th March caused by an attack on two Opposition leaders by a member of Nuri Pasha's party.

2. There was a small demonstration yesterday which resulted in about a dozen arrests. Both these events appear to be

manœuvres directed against the Government, and in particular, against Saleh Jabr.

EQ 1106/5

No. 6

THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 16th March)

(No. 50)
Sir.

Bagdad,
6th March, 1950.

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies in translation of the Prime Minister's speech in which he introduced the programme of his Government to the Iraqi Parliament on 16th February.

2. The programme was debated in the Chamber on 16th, 19th, 20th and 21st February. A large number of Deputies spoke, the greater number of them from the Opposition. They made little attempt to confine their remarks to the subject under discussion, and ranged freely over the history of Iraq and the causes of its present difficulties. No vote of confidence was taken.

3. The general political criticism of the programme was that it was the same stereotyped programme, promising improvements in every field, which every Iraqi Government presented to Parliament and which no Iraqi Government had yet succeeded in implementing. The speakers thought that this Government did not appear any more likely to succeed than its predecessor. They likened the Prime Minister to a general leading someone else's army. Nuri or Saleh Jabr, they said, should have headed it; for it contained reactionary and feudal elements. One speaker referred to the devious and aimless political course of the Iraqi ruling class, and the lack of guidance to the new generation who were consequently divided into extremists of the Right or Left. There were also the usual references to foreign influences, but one Deputy described the Iraqi ruling class as more English than the English themselves, and it was noticeable that the target of the strictures of the Opposition was more the Iraqi ruling clique in their own capacity than in their alleged character as agents of British imperialism.

4. The Government's intention to set up a Development Board did not meet with any criticism from the Chamber. The Government have already drafted a law for this purpose which is now before the Council

of Ministers, and on which I shall be reporting in due course. The Deputies had little to say on economic matters except to deplore what was described as the artificially high cost of living. One speech criticised past policy in granting import licences, and urged that established importers, Moslem, Jew and Christian alike, should be treated equally in this respect. One Deputy referred to the Government's intention to expedite the construction of the oil refinery, and said that this had formed part of every Government's programme for many years. He pointed out that this project would now cost some ten times as much as it would have cost in 1932.

5. Several Deputies spoke of the necessity for judicial independence, and of the abuses which had taken place under martial law. Others criticised the low quality of the Iraqi foreign service. There was also much talk of corruption among Government officials, and hopes were expressed that in dealing with this the Government would not confine their attention to lower officials. The case of Ali Khalid, the ex-Director-General of Police, was used to illustrate the extent of corruption among highly-placed officials in the Iraqi Government.

6. The reference in the programme of establishing ties with Iraq's ally Great Britain in accordance with existing agreements produced some comment. One Deputy welcomed it as an indication that the Government did not intend to take any steps to revise the 1930 Treaty. He said that Iraq would patiently bear this treaty for the short period it had still to run. She would then be free to decide for herself. The leader of the Independence Party said that successive Iraqi Governments were accustomed to stress Iraq's obligations under the 1930 Treaty, but Great Britain did not take her obligations under this treaty very seriously. The Portsmouth Treaty was also mentioned in the debate, and this caused sharp exchanges between its supporters and its opponents which necessitated the

adjournment of the session for ten minutes to allow tempers to cool.

7. The section of the Government's programme on Arab affairs was criticised as being vague and imprecise. Several speakers took this section to mean that the Government are not intending seriously to pursue Iraqi-Syrian union. There was much argument whether Iraqi-Syrian union would strengthen or weaken the Arab League. Nearly all the speakers on this subject urged the Government to take a stronger line towards the union.

8. The Prime Minister's reference in his programme to the *bloc* behind the Sa'adabad *bloc*, to which he has told me he attaches great importance, puzzled many of the speakers. The Prime Minister clarified this in a speech during the debate in which he said that he had noticed at Lake Success that there was often a voting alliance between the Eastern States and the Arabs and went on:

"The Arab delegations were constantly joining with those Eastern peoples who found it useful to work as a *bloc* on a mutual understanding, since they did not lean towards one side or the other in the European struggle, in order to preserve their freedom and defend their interests. Both in office and out I wish the connexion to continue and to develop so that the *bloc* may preserve its liberties and not be affected by its neighbours on the west or on the north. I did not say Sa'adabad because this *bloc* already existed and will continue. I was considering what is beyond Sa'adabad because that is the quarter to which the power is shifting. One of you said I meant the Commonwealth. No gentlemen, the Commonwealth is outside Asia. True Ceylon and Pakistan are in the Commonwealth, and these names will disappear completely, for Pakistan like India will cut off her ties with the Commonwealth very soon according to my information. We welcome this power which has come into existence since the second world war, because it includes Eastern Islamic and Arab peoples and stands powerfully in the face of the shifting European currents. Thus we shall not be swaying with these currents and this is what I meant by the front beyond Sa'adabad. Iraq welcomes this power and considers it as of service to world peace."

9. I drew the Prime Minister's attention to his remarks about Pakistan and India,

and he replied that there was confusion between Crown and Commonwealth. He might have been responsible for this confusion, but he had meant to say that Pakistan like India would cut off her ties with the Crown in the Commonwealth as reported. He knew, of course, that India as well as Pakistan had been represented at the Colombo Conference. What he had meant was that co-operation among the Eastern peoples would be something wider than the Commonwealth.

10. The Prime Minister has told me that he was satisfied with the debate, and that he calculates that he has over 100 supporters in the Chamber of Deputies.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

HUMPHREY TREVELYAN.
(For His Majesty's Ambassador)

Enclosure in No. 6

The Cabinet's Programme

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to present my Cabinet which I have formed relying on the confidence of His Royal Highness the Regent and depending on the co-operation of your High Assembly. In submitting to you the programme of my Cabinet. I hope to receive your guidance and pray the Almighty to bless our work for the welfare of the people and country under the ægis of His Majesty the King and the guidance of His Royal Highness the Regent.

Foreign Affairs

1. To seek to consolidate as fully as possible the ties of brotherhood and understanding between Arab States within the provisions of the Charter of the Arab League, especially Article 9 thereof, by encouraging schemes which aim at strengthening the Arab position in conformity with Iraq's national aims.

2. To continue to exert efforts with the Arab States to find the best solution for the Palestine question which accords with Arab interests.

3. To consolidate the cordial relations existing between Iraq and other States, neighbouring countries in particular, to strengthen the ties with our ally Great Britain in accordance with the provisions of existing charters and pledges, and to

support world peace with a view to realising the principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

4. The grave events and international developments which took place after the last world war have brought into existence new influential powers in the international field besides the Sa'adabad *bloc*. This strengthens the hope of a greater measure of international co-operation in Asia to serve the cause of peace and avoid dangers which are increasing daily. Iraq trusts that this hope will be realised.

5. The Government will continue its endeavours, in co-operation with "its sisters" (the Governments of Arab countries), to realise the national aspirations of Libya.

Internal Affairs

1. To strengthen the Constitution and make it the recourse of the people in all matters, to protect its provisions against any aggression, and to combat all activities contrary to its provisions.

2. To consolidate Iraqi unity and its material and spiritual supports and to combat dissensions harmful to it.

3. To ensure stability and the rule of law, to establish the pillars of peace and order in the country and to enact legislation to ensure such peace and order, to call for the unity of ranks, to spread the spirit of tranquility among the people, and to remove all that is calculated to stir up rancour and revenge.

4. To look after State officials and their welfare, to ensure their fulfilment of their duties, to cleanse the Government machinery from corrupt and incompetent elements, and to lend attention to Liwa Administrative Councils, the police and the municipalities.

Defence Affairs

1. To strengthen the army to pay attention to its armament and accommodation, to raise the educational and professional standard of its men, and to increase training missions abroad. To lend attention to the local production of war materials, to amend certain military laws and to encourage a soldierly spirit among the classes of the people.

Judicial Affairs

1. To strengthen the independence of the judiciary by introducing into it upright and efficient elements, to consider setting up a State Council, to spread legal education

and to pay attention to land settlement operations and induce the Land Settlement Department to complete its work as shortly as possible, and to reconsider such laws as do not fit the present age.

Financial and Economic Affairs

1. To strengthen confidence in the finances of the country by ensuring a balance between its receipts and its expenditure. With a view to ensuring this, the Cabinet will endeavour to find such new resources as the possibilities of the country may permit and will work to reduce public expenditure in such a way as will not affect the Government machinery or prevent the natural expansion in social services.

2. To endeavour to make the oil concessions more profitable to the country than at present and to expedite the construction of the oil refinery.

3. To consider setting up a special Development Board whose duties will be to undertake development and construction, and to finance such council from the oil royalties and foreign and other loans to enable it to execute the various capital works of development.

4. To proceed with a policy of industrialisation to the furthest limits, to encourage local industries and protect them effectively in order to enable them to compete with foreign products, on the one hand, and on the other hand to encourage capitalists to exploit their capital.

5. To endeavour to bring about a trade balance by reducing imports as much as possible and by encouraging export to the furthest possible limits, and to simplify the means for the organisation of economic life.

6. To encourage the small-holding system and to make it the basis of agricultural expansion in Iraq, to fix a maximum and a minimum area for holdings in all agricultural schemes to be undertaken in future by the Government on Government lands, and to encourage agricultural co-operative societies.

7. To make the Government undertake industries and schemes of a public character and to participate in other economic schemes, to draw up economic plans required to raise the standard of national production and to encourage individual endeavour within this plan.

8. To lend attention to staple products, such as dates, cereals and tobacco, to endeavour to find foreign markets for them, to work to provide means of transport for them, and to solve the freight question in a

manner ensuring the interests of the Iraqi producer.

9. To expand the activities of the Agricultural, Industrial and Estates Banks by financing them adequately and finding permanent revenues for them to enable them to render useful assistance to cultivators and owners of industries and mortgages.

Cultural Affairs

1. To direct instruction in all its stages so as to fulfil the needs of the country. To adopt modern educational methods and to raise the colleges to a higher standard preparatory to creating a university, to raise the standard of primary and secondary education and to spread vocational education, to expand agricultural and rural education, to combat illiteracy, to improve curricula and text-books, to lend attention to physical training, scouting and fine arts, to improve the condition of teachers, and lay down permanent plans for constructing modern buildings for education.

Irrigation and Communications

1. To try to realise major irrigation schemes, foremost among which is the

Tharthar scheme, and to meet their expenses by means of foreign and internal loans.

2. To lend attention to public roads, which are now under examination, in order to lay down a general plan which will ensure the paving of all roads in Iraq in accordance with a special programme.

3. To adopt the policy of placing national elements in the railways and the port administrations in lieu of foreigners.

Social Affairs

1. To raise the standard of health in the country, by preventive and curative means, and to make public health services available equitably to the public, to enact a rural public health law and to amend the law of medical practice, the law of pharmacy, and the medical service law.

2. To combat endemic and epidemic diseases, to improve medical institutes, and to lend attention to maternity and child welfare institutes and chest diseases dispensaries.

3. To lend attention to workmen, economically and socially.

We pray God to help us all to achieve this and peace be on you.

approaching a serious political phase and events which will affect its existence, prestige and destiny, we believe these actions and methods are designed to strangle the voice of the Opposition, thereby vitiating the ideal of a sound parliamentary system." These allegations were answered by the President of the Chamber on 8th March in a statement to the press which pointed out that the minor incident which took place on 5th March was far less serious than incidents which had taken place in the Parliaments of most advanced democracies in the heat of debate. The minutes of the Chamber, particularly those of the present and previous meeting, showed that interruption and shouting were not confined to one side. As to the Opposition's claim that they were deprived of the opportunity to express their views, the president said that the minutes of the sittings provided the most striking evidence of the ample opportunity enjoyed by the Opposition Deputies to express their views fully.

3. The real reasons for the resignation are complex. The formation of the Constitutional Union Party by Nuri Pasha Sa'id had enlisted in a single party, at the service of a particular group of Bagdad politicians, the votes of a high proportion of the country Deputies. These Deputies are often illiterate and almost invariably without higher education. In the past it has been customary for these country Deputies to support the Government in power, whatever its political tendency might have been. Their support was only withdrawn from a Government if such Government had forfeited the royal confidence. According to the resigning Deputies, this convention provided a possibility for the development of parliamentary life and the gradual growth of real parties based on political principles. These parties could skirmish with each other on the side lines and oppose the Government with constructive criticism while the King's Government was carried on by virtue of the votes of the Shaikhly Deputies. Once this Shaikhly bloc had been captured by any individual politician or group of politicians the whole balance of the system, according to them would be upset. They also complained that the power obtained by the formation of this bloc, with its preponderance of votes in the Chamber, was being abused, and pointed to the fact that the president and the vice-presidents of the Chamber and the presidents of the various House Committees, are now members of this party. These offices, according to the Opposition,

had been obtained by the use of the majority in the Chamber with little regard for the qualifications of candidates for the work they were expected to undertake.

4. There were other and less respectable reasons for the action of the Opposition Deputies. Nuri Pasha is widely distrusted and envied for his influence with the Palace and for his skill in political intrigue. It is also thought that he enjoys something approaching an unfair monopoly of British confidence. The anger aroused by the formation of his party was as much an expression of personal dislike of Nuri Pasha as of sincere doubts about the wisdom of bringing the Shaikhs into Bagdad politics. A further reason for the resignations was hatred of Saleh Jabr and Sunni resentment against the strong Shi'a element in the present Cabinet. The Shi'as hold five Cabinet posts which is a greater number than they have ever held before; moreover, three of the counterbalancing Sunnis are Ministers without portfolio. Nuri Pasha's supporters are eager to point out that the present line-up of political forces is the same as that at the time of the Portsmouth Treaty riots and they draw the conclusion that the resignation of the Deputies and the small demonstration which quickly followed it, was designed to set off a chain of demonstrations which would drive the Government from office. There is, however, no independent evidence of any such design.

5. In the face of the resignation of nearly a third of the members of the Lower House, the Government had to choose between three courses of action:—

- (1) To rely on the convention that resignations were not accepted in the Iraqi Parliament the first time they were submitted, but only after the resigning Deputy subsequently insisted on resubmitting them.
- (2) To accept the resignations, put through the budget and a few essential laws and then to dissolve Parliament and hold new elections.
- (3) To dissolve Parliament immediately.

The Government sensibly enough chose the first of these courses and on 12th March the Chamber unanimously rejected the resignations. In the course of the debate conciliatory speeches were made by two members of the Constitutional Union Party and also by the Prime Minister.

6. Both before and after the rejection of the resignation there had been intensive

EQ 1016/6

No. 7

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Resignation of Opposition Deputies

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th March)

(No. 71)

Bagdad,

23rd March, 1950.

Sir,
As reported in my telegram No. 130⁽¹⁾ of 9th March, thirty-seven Deputies, virtually the entire Opposition, submitted their resignations from the Iraqi Chamber of Deputies after a stormy scene in the Chamber on 6th March. The resigning members were made up from the following parties and parliamentary groups; the constitutional bloc which has been in existence for some time and is headed by two politicians, Nasrat al Farisi and Mohammed Ridha al Shabibi, both of whom were members of the Cabinet of Mohammed al Sadr in 1948; the newly-formed Popular bloc, which consists of younger and more educated Members of Parliament and is headed by a Deputy from Basra of the influential Bashayan family, who was formerly in the Iraqi foreign service, his main lieutenant being a young

lawyer from Mosul who was educated in France and is one of the most effective Opposition speakers in the Iraqi Parliament; the independence (Istiqlal), the National Democratic and the Liberal Parties. There were also a number of Independents, the most notable among them being Ali Mumtaz and Najib al Rawi, who were Minister of Finance and Education respectively in the Government of Ali Jaudat al Aiyubi.

2. The letter of resignation gave the reasons for the resignations in the following terms: "It has become evident to us and to public opinion from the course of discussions in the Chamber that there is an organised plan to prevent us from exercising our constitutional duties by interruption, uproar and abusive and insulting language on the one hand, and the non-observation of the standing orders for impartiality on the other. Since we feel that the country is

⁽¹⁾ No. 5 in this Volume.

consultations between the various Opposition groups and between these groups and the Government. The course of these consultations is still obscure, but it is known that they revealed considerable disunity among the different groups who had resigned. The Independence Party published its decision to insist upon the resignation of its members, and all the resignations except two were renewed by 15th March. Further dissension resulted from discussion as to whether the Deputies should return if the Chamber rejected their resignations for a second time. It was the hope of the Government that about twenty of them would do so, and the Prime Minister met a number of them on 15th March in order to attempt to persuade them to adopt this course. He is said to have offered some concessions, including a change in the presidency of the Chamber, but his efforts were

unavailing. Nuri's party met on 18th March and the attitude of the Chamber to the renewed resignations was probably decided at this meeting. The Chamber met on the following day, and after two speeches urging that the resignations should again be rejected, the vice-president of the Chamber, a prominent member of Nuri's party, asserted that this would be a waste of time since those resigning were fully determined to persist in the course they had chosen. The resignations were then put to the vote and accepted.

7. A prominent resigning Deputy has published an article urging the boycott of the by-elections. I shall report the further developments of this affair in due course.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1022/6

No. 8

IRAQI-SYRIAN UNION

Sir H Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th March)

(No. 64)

Bagdad.

Sir,

21st March, 1950.

I have the honour to report that Nuri Pasha Sa'id delivered a public lecture on 6th March entitled "Iraqi-Syrian Union and the Collective Security Plan." It lasted some two hours and was heard by more than 1,000 people.

2. Nuri Pasha divided his lecture into two parts. The first part dealt with the existing international situation in general, and the second with the Arab States and their relation with the world situation. He began by emphasising that the first and most important duty of any State was to provide for its own security. He then surveyed the history of the formation of the Communist *bloc* since the end of the war and went on to describe the weapons with which the Western Powers were meeting the Communist threat. The first of these weapons was the Marshall Plan which had been successful to a considerable degree in curing the economic weakness in Western countries which the Communists were attempting to exploit. The second weapon which the West was forging was the Brussels and the Atlantic Pacts. The Atlantic Pact was necessary because it brought in the United States without whose industrial resources

superiority could not be achieved. Success in modern war required superiority in material and without the participation of the United States, such superiority was not attainable by the Western Powers.

3. Turning to the Arab countries, Nuri Pasha said that the countries under Communist domination approached these countries at two points, the Caucasus and Bulgaria. Iraq was the most exposed of Arab countries to the Communist threat, since the Caucasus was only 155 miles from the northern borders of Iraq, and in northern Iraq were the strategically important oilfields. Iraq formed the forward defences of the Arab States and these States should appreciate her responsibilities and recognise that any weakness in Iraq threatened the whole Arab world.

4. Nuri Pasha described Israel as a new danger. In his opinion Israel would serve as a bridgehead in the Middle East for the Communist *bloc*. Israel was not likely to attack the Suez Canal which was under international control; Egypt was strengthening her army and the support of the great Powers would discourage any aggression against her. Jordan was safe because of her treaty with Great Britain, while the Lebanon enjoyed the support of world

Christian opinion. The weak point of the Arab world in the face of the threat from Israel was Syria. It was because of this threat that the Syrian leaders a year ago had sought union with Iraq. Certain Deputies had raised the matter in the Syrian Parliament and pointed out that the enemy was only 65 miles from the capital. Without union with Iraq, Syria could have no security. Personal talks had also taken place between Jamil Madfai and the ex-president of the Syrian Republic, Shukri Quwatly. The proposed union would also be of benefit to Iraq, and if not in its entirety, it should at least be implemented in so far as joint defence was concerned. Egypt had proposed the collective security scheme, which she had put forward in order to squeeze out the scheme for Iraqi-Syrian union.

5. Neutrality was impossible; for neutrality required sufficient force to defend it, and where would the Arabs obtain the force needed to defend their neutrality? They had been defeated in the first round with Israel and they should try to avoid defeat in the second round.

6. In reply to a question asking what were the motives of the democratic Powers in supporting Israel if Israel were in fact a Communist bridgehead: Nuri said that Israel's only object was to conquer pieces of Arab territory as occasion served. The next round between Israel and the Arabs was bound to come. Israel wanted to maintain freedom of action and liberty to join either *bloc* according as it suited her main purpose. His speech was intended to warn Iraq and the Arabs to look to the gaps in their defences.

7. The published reports of the lecture were not complete. The greater part of their space was devoted to Nuri's analysis of the world international situation and not to the main subject of the lecture as indicated by its title. It is, however, possible to discern the two main lines of Nuri's argument. The first of these was the im-

possibility of neutrality between East and West and the implication that the Arabs were bound to the West. The second, which was more heavily stressed, was that the preparations being made in the West for defence against Communist aggression were an example to the Arab peoples to make similar defensive preparations against Israeli aggression, which was, in Nuri Pasha's opinion, inevitable.

8. The press made less comment on this speech than might have been expected, since its delivery was immediately followed by the resignation of the Opposition Deputies, and comment on this event has filled its columns. Those papers which did comment on Nuri's speech were mainly of the Right. The Independence Party organ had two leading articles which criticised Nuri on the following lines. The writer asked what the Arabs had received in return for being tied to the Western *bloc*. They were suffering from unemployment, trade depression and bankruptcy, and were rewarded by British domination and economic exploitation and by American betrayal of them to the Jews. Other newspapers took a similar line and contrasted the generous treatment by the Western Powers of Turkey and Persia with their niggardly assistance to Iraq. The general conclusion of the Independence Party organ was that the Arabs should not merely follow the Western "caravan," but should pursue a national policy directed towards full political and economic independence. The writer admitted that neutrality was an illusion under modern conditions, but said that the Arabs did not want to become watchmen for foreign interests which were exploiting their oil and other resources. "If this wealth became ours," he said, "we would defend it."

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1941/4

No. 9

VISIT OF KING FAISAL II TO IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Younger. (Received 24th May)

(No. 115)

Bagdad.

Sir,

15th May, 1950.

I have the honour to submit an account of the recent visit to Iraq of His Majesty

King Faisal II, who at the suggestion of His Royal Highness the Regent, spent his Easter holidays from Harrow School in this country. His Majesty had not been in Iraq

since September 1948, and the genuine warmth of the popular welcome with which he was received has amply justified the idea of a visit at a time of year when travel in Iraq is possible.

2. King Faisal was accompanied on his journey from London by Her Majesty the Queen Mother, His Royal Highness the Amir Zeid and Her Royal Highness Princess Abdiyah. He was welcomed on the morning of 30th March at Bagdad airport by His Royal Highness the Regent and a large gathering of the country's leading figures as well as by the heads of the foreign diplomatic missions. From the airport His Majesty, accompanied by the Regent, drove in an open carriage through the streets of Bagdad where enthusiastic crowds accorded him a great welcome on his way to the Royal bilat. The Regent told me that the size of the crowds and their enthusiasm were unprecedented.

3. On 5th April the anniversary of the accession of King Faisal II was celebrated and the streets of Bagdad were decked with flags for the occasion. The following day King Faisal, accompanied by the Regent, left Bagdad for a two-day visit to the Moslem holy cities of Kerbala and Najaf.

4. The Regent had told me that it was his intention to let the people of Iraq see their King as much as possible and, in view of the spontaneous warmth shown towards His Majesty from the moment of his arrival, plans were undertaken for visits to both Southern and Northern Iraq.

5. Accordingly, King Faisal in company with the Regent visited Basra from 10th-14th April and subsequently between 24th-30th April paid visits to Mosul, to Sarsing, the Royal family's summer resort in the hills of Northern Kurdistan, to Erbil, and finally to Kirkuk where there were assembled to greet him not only the senior officials and notables of both Kirkuk and

Sulaimaniya liwas, but also an imposing gathering of tribal leaders some of whom had come from as far as the Persian border. Surprisingly enough among their number was the renowned Sheikh Mahmoud who, according to a report from His Majesty's Consul, who attended the ceremony, looked rather ill at ease during the playing of the Iraqi national anthem!

6. King Faisal's fifteenth birthday was celebrated in Bagdad on 2nd May as a public holiday. He made a short broadcast on this day in the course of which he thanked all classes in the country for the affectionate welcome that they had accorded him. I am told that his delivery and his Arabic accent were excellent. In the evening my wife and I attended a dinner given for him at the palace of the Regent to which all Heads of Missions and their wives were invited. This was followed by a reception to a large gathering of Iraqis and foreigners. The invitations which were first sent out included Moslem wives but they were subsequently cancelled and no Iraqi Moslem ladies were present. Strict purdah continues to be observed by the ladies of the Royal family when in this country.

7. As on the occasion of his visit in 1948 King Faisal came with their Royal Highnesses the Regent and the Amir Zeid to an informal tea-party at the embassy on 23rd April.

8. King Faisal's visit ended on 8th May when he left by air for London. It will have been evident from the foregoing paragraphs that the visit was an unqualified success. It would be useful if such visits could be repeated each year until His Majesty's final return to Iraq. He enjoys very great popularity in this country and the more often he is seen the better.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1114/23

No. 10

INTERNATIONAL BANK LOAN FOR IRAQ

Sir O. Franks to Mr. Younger. (Received 17th June)

(No. 1691) Washington.
(Telegraphic) 17th June, 1950.
My telegram No. 1635.

Loan agreement for 12.8 million dollars (or the equivalent in other currencies) was signed on 15th June. Interest rate is 2½ per

cent. (plus bank commission of 1 per cent.) which is lowest yet obtained by any country borrowing from the bank.

2. Doctor Haidar asked the bank for some prior undertaking to grant further loans which could be publicly announced in

Iraq. He has not been successful in getting this but the bank have given him in a letter a clear indication that they are interested in further lending and bank officials are likely to visit Iraq in the early autumn to discuss the possibility of a loan for the following projects:—

- (a) The Hilla Canal.
- (b) The import of agriculture machinery.
- (c) Grain silo at Basra.
- (d) Tobacco storage in Bagdad and the provinces.

I understand the total foreign exchange involved in these projects is 7-10 million dollars.

3. Haidar asked whether the bank, if requested, were prepared to send an economic survey mission to Iraq. He was told that February 1951, was the earliest date possible for such a mission. Haidar made an excellent impression and his successful visit may do something to dispel the prejudice in Iraq against the bank. He leaves for London by air on 19th June.

EQ 1016/24

No. 11

THE NURI AL SAID GOVERNMENT

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th September)

(1)

(No. 34. Saving) Bagdad,
19th September, 1950.

My telegram No. 481 of 17th September: Iraqi Cabinet.

New Iraqi Government was formed on 16th September as follows:—

1. Nuri al Said: Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Interior.
2. Majid Mustafa: Minister of Social Affairs.

3. Shakir al Wadi: Minister of Defence and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.

4. Dhia Jafar: Minister of Economics.

5. Abdul Wahab Murjan: Minister of Communications and Works and Acting Minister of Finance.

6. Hassan Sami Tatar: Minister of Justice.

7. Khalil Kenna: Minister of Education.

2. See my immediately following Saving telegram.

EQ 1016/25

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Younger. (Received 24th September)

(2)

(No. 35. Saving) Bagdad,
19th September, 1950.

My immediately preceding telegram Saving of 19th September.

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 7 Sunni Arabs.

Nos. 4 and 5 are Shia Arabs.

No. 2 is a Kurd.

No. 6 is of Turkoman origin.

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7 are members of Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Union Party.

2. Nuri had hoped to include both Saleh Jabr and Taufiq Suweidi. Saleh Jabr objected to the inclusion of Abdul Wahab

41801 **

Murjan and Khalil Kenna. He also tried to get Sayid Abdul Mehdi included. Agreement between Nuri and Saleh Jabr became impossible, and Saleh Jabr withdrew. We have been told that this withdrawal caused the exclusion of Taufiq Suweidi because, if he had remained, great offence would have been caused to Saleh Jabr and the Shias generally. Taufiq also wished to interfere in regard to the choice of Ministers. The Prime Minister has told me that, in order to avoid a break with Saleh Jabr and Taufiq Suweidi, he decided to form a "skeleton" Cabinet. Abdul Karim al Uzri was offered

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the Ministry of Finance, presumably at the desire of the Regent, but he withdrew at the last moment in solidarity with Saleh Jabr.

3. Nuri gave a press conference on 16th September. He said that his Government intended to concentrate on two points: economic development and improvement of the administration. They would try to put an end to unemployment and to stimulate trade. He said he would try to include new and suitable men to fill the gaps in the Cabinet. Until he does so it is not easy to assess his chances of success in these declared aims.

4. At our first interview this morning Nuri Pasha told me that he hoped to form the Development Board within a fortnight and to put into force the existing decentralisation law which permits Mutasarrifs and municipalities to carry out certain public works in their areas. Owing to lack of funds this law has hitherto remained a dead letter. He also said that he would not have resigned last December if the Iraq Petroleum Company had agreed last year to the increased royalties which they had recently agreed with him.

E 1071/146

No. 12

ATTITUDE OF IRAQ TOWARDS THE ARAB LEAGUE

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Attlee. (Received 27th September)

(No. 212. Confidential) Bagdad,
Sir, 21st September, 1950.

The question of the union of the two sides of the Jordan is to be discussed by the Arab League Council at its meeting in October. Up to the present Iraq has given qualified support to Jordan against the attacks of the majority of the Arab League States and has prevented a vote on Jordan's expulsion. In this attitude the Iraq Government have had the support of the majority of politically conscious Iraqis. Although there are indications that the critical phase of this dispute is passed, it may be of some interest at the moment to try to assess Iraq's attitude towards the Arab League, at a time when she is poised uneasily between Jordan and the remaining members.

2. The history of Iraq's relations with the Arab League seems to have been largely determined by the uneasy balance existing in Iraqi opinion between two conceptions of Arab association which, though not necessarily inconsistent, have in practice generally been opposed. These conceptions are:—

- (a) the political reunion of the fertile parts of Arab territory which were under Turkish rule before 1918;
- (b) the association of independent Arab States in a loose organisation for the prosecution of common political aims.

Iraq is attached in different ways to both these conceptions of the integration of the Arab world.

3. The first conception derives from the aspirations towards administrative reunion inherited from the Arab nationalist movement against the Turks, in which many leading Iraqis played an active part. This movement was the creation of the Arab townsmen of Syria and to a lesser extent, of Iraq. For obvious geographical and political reasons, Egypt and Southern Arabia were excluded from their plans for administrative reunion of a part of the Arab world. It is the Iraqi hope for such a union that has been responsible for many of the differences between Iraq and other members of the League. For instance, I believe that Iraq's consistent advocacy in the Arab League of policies of intransigence against Israel was largely caused by the threat to the prospects of administrative reunion which was constituted by the emergence of Israel. Iraq's strong support for the Palestine Arabs was in the past one of the main causes of difference between Iraq and some of the other Arab States, and led, late in 1945, to Iraq's threatening to withdraw from the league. Again, in 1949, there was a period of acute disagreement between Iraq and Egypt, primarily due to Iraq's hope and Egypt's fear that the Syrian *coups d'état* gave a prospect of realisation of the Fertile Crescent scheme. Recently, Iraq has again diverged to some extent from the majority of the league in her support for the union of both banks of the Jordan, which was due, partly at any rate, to Iraq's desire to see any administrative union of Arab territory, however small.

4. Iraq has at the same time been, throughout the last five years, a genuine believer in the wider and looser association of Arab States which finds its embodiment in the Arab League. The support for this form of organisation given by Iraq in 1945, sprang from the desire for Egypt's support against the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria and the recognition of the advantages of Arab cohesion in dealing with the non-Arab world. Nuri Pasha and some other Iraqi veterans of the Arab revolt were undoubtedly disappointed that the League Charter did not give greater scope for the future union of constituent members of the league, but they and general political opinion in Iraq strongly support the ideas embodied in the Charter under Egypt's inspiration. The appeal of these ideas to Iraqi's nationalist youth is based on the attraction exercised by Egypt as the strongest and most advanced of the Arab States and their natural leader against "Western imperialism." Egypt's voice in Arab councils on the Palestine issue was usually raised on the side of moderation, but the unsettled state of her relations with Great Britain has made the Arab League more hostile to the West and therefore more attractive to the frustrated nationalist youth of Iraq. The outstanding instance of Iraqi attachment to the league prevailing over both common sense and Iraq's own hopes for future political reintegration with the Arab States of the Levant, was her recognition of the Egyptian-sponsored Gaza Government.

5. The differences which have arisen between Iraq and the Arab League have thus been largely caused by the opposition between two ideas of Arab unity, the one contemplating an organic union between

Iraq, Jordan and the Levant States which would, it is hoped, contain and eventually re-conquer Israel; the other which has already taken shape as a wider and looser association and which aims at the eventual inclusion of all Arabs, its main purpose being to free its component States from all trace of foreign domination and to give the Arab *bloc* an effective voice in world affairs. If Iraq were faced with a choice between these two ideas, they would probably choose the first; but it appears probable that the second would only be abandoned if it was actively preventing what appeared to Iraq to be an immediate practical prospect of achieving the first. The possibilities of such a situation arising have been diminished, not only by the actions of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, but by the policy of the Western Powers as expressed in the Tripartite Statement. The Iraqis are undoubtedly attached to the league, and, whatever their complaints against it, will continue to feel the need of an association of Arab States in this form to deal with non-Arab countries. The current moves to obtain the recognition of the Arab League as a regional organisation under United Nations Organisation have strong Iraqi support. I conclude that, in spite of the differences with Egypt and Azzam Pasha, and Nuri's threats to break up the league, it would take a very considerable upheaval, such as a major crisis over Syria, to bring the Iraqis to the point of leaving the league.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Alexandria, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda, Tel Aviv, Ankara and Washington and to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1016/28

No. 13

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Attlee. (Received 2nd October)

(No. 215) Bagdad,
Sir, 25th September, 1950.

As reported in my Saving telegram No. 112 of 14th September, the Cabinet of Tawfiq Suweidi resigned on 12th September after some seven and a half months of office. The circumstances in which this Government came to power were described in my despatch No. 43 of 21st February. Tawfiq

Suweidi appears to have been chosen to head this Government partly with an eye to Egyptian opinion, but mainly because neither Nuri Said nor Saleh Jabr, who were the obvious choices, were willing to serve as Prime Minister. The lines of cleavage in his Cabinet were obvious from the start, and they grew wider as time went on. Indeed, the popular estimate of a three to

four months' life for the Government proved only slightly pessimistic; for although its total life was longer, it was in a state of complete disintegration during the last two months before it resigned.

2. In early June Nuri Pasha told me that he and Shakir al Wadi were to go to the north to discuss the Cabinet situation with the Regent. He said that the Prime Minister wanted to get rid of the Minister of Interior (Saleh Jabr) and of the members of the Constitutional Union Party in the Cabinet and to hold new elections on 1st August. Nuri and Shakir al Wadi did in fact go to Sersenk on 5th June, but they presumably agreed with the Regent, who was still opposed to a change of Government and to the holding of elections, that the Cabinet was able to carry on as it was. The tensions inside it were, however, still increasing, and by the middle of July it was apparent that they were so divided as to be completely ineffective. The Minister of Interior was angry with the Prime Minister, who without any previous consultation with him, had made use of the Constitutional Union Party to prevent the passage of the press law sponsored by him. The Sunni Ministers were angry with Saleh Jabr. They said he was making trouble in the Muntafik by giving way unduly to the Minister of Communications and Works, a Shi'a who landed interests in that district. He was also accused of favouritism towards the Shi'a community in general and of allowing his friends to make money by granting passports to such Jews as wished to leave the country without abandoning their Iraqi nationality. The long-standing alliance between Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr was in danger of dissolution. The Ministers of Nuri's party were systematically obstructing Saleh's proposals while Saleh Jabr was trying to undermine Nuri's party by causing the withdrawal of his own supporters in it. He did not have much success in this.

3. By the middle of July, therefore, the Regent had decided that a change was necessary. He told the chargé d'affaires on 19th July that the Cabinet would be re-formed in a few days, but he subsequently decided to wait until Nuri returned from London before making any changes. Nuri did not return until 6th August. The Regent intended to change the Government before 10th August when he was due to leave for Istanbul; but he received news of his sister's illness and left Bagdad suddenly for London on 7th August. Since the power

of accepting the resignation of the Prime Minister had been excluded from the acting Regent's powers, and since the Regent expected to return to Bagdad in a few weeks, a further delay was imposed. It soon became clear that the Regent would have to stay in England for an indefinite period, and the Cabinet was instructed to carry on unchanged. This instruction was not enough to make them work together, and for the remainder of its life, the Government remained in a state of paralysis. As always happens in Iraq in such circumstances, the authority of the Government suffered from the general knowledge that its cohesion had been lost, and day-to-day administrative decisions were postponed, while civil servants trimmed their sails to the expected new Government.

4. In spite of its dissensions and its last two months of ineffectiveness, the record of the Government was not of unrelieved failure. The previous Government had been forced out of office because Iraqi opinion would not endorse an agreement with Egypt for non-intervention in Syria, but the Suweidi Government succeeded in improving Iraqi-Egyptian relations to some extent, in the face of the difficulties caused by the Egyptian attack on Jordan in the Arab League. In spite of some diplomatic clumsiness, Tawfiq Suweidi succeeded in preventing the expulsion of Jordan from the Arab League, and at the same time improved the atmosphere between Iraq and Egypt. It is to be hoped that the return of Nuri Pasha to power will not cause Iraqi-Egyptian relations to deteriorate once again.

5. Tawfiq Suweidi dealt fairly sensibly with the tripartite statement of policy by the United States, Great Britain and France, after his first outburst to the press in Egypt, and did not allow himself to be carried away either by the nationalist attacks upon it or by the hostile attitude adopted by Nuri Pasha in Parliament. Again, on the question of the Security Council resolution on Korea, the Iraqi Government, after some hesitation, did not follow the Egyptians with a declaration of neutrality, in spite of the welcome given by a large section of Iraqi public opinion to the Egyptian line. The record of the Government on foreign affairs was fairly good.

6. The Government were fortunate in being in power at a time when the International Bank loan agreement was finally signed. They also were lucky to obtain the

credit for the comparatively successful conclusion of the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company for the increase of oil royalties. Moreover, effective measures were taken by the Finance Minister to improve the budgetary position by making considerable reductions in expenditure and by increasing taxes. Although the divisions within the Cabinet prevented the setting up of the Development Board and prejudiced the chances of its obtaining suitable foreign experts, the passage of the Development Board law through Parliament can also be counted as the achievement of this Government.

7. The Government handled the resignation of the thirty-four Opposition Deputies without much skill, but the dissensions among the resigning Deputies prevented this developing into an effective attack on the Government. The question of new elections, however, remains a real one, and although Nuri will probably avoid elections as long as he can, the absence from Parliament of such a large proportion of its more educated and progressive members, seems likely to make elections inevitable long

before the life of the present Chamber of Deputies expires in June 1952.

8. Abdul Karim al Uzri, Minister of Finance, has been the outstanding success of this Government. The Prime Minister confirmed his previous reputation as a clever and slippery Minister and as a completely unscrupulous money-maker. Saleh Jabr's attempts to assert his independence of Nuri was not successful and he has undoubtedly lost ground politically. Although a battle between these two outstanding personalities may be inevitable in the long run, Saleh, who is much younger, would be well advised to postpone it as long as possible. Saleh allowed his irritation at the obstruction he met from Nuri's supporters in the Government to lead him to try to undermine Nuri's position. He only succeeded in alienating almost all the Sunni politicians, and it is clear that he can never become a dominating influence in Iraqi politics unless he ceases to rely on Shi'a support alone.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1071/2

No. 14

NURI AL SAID'S LECTURE ON IRAQ AND THE WORLD SITUATION

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 25th November)

(No. 247)

Bagdad,

Sir,

28th November, 1952.

The Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri al Said, gave a public lecture on 14th November which he called "The Development of War and Policy in the 19th and 20th Centuries." His Majesty King Abdullah of Jordan and His Royal Highness the Regent were among the audience of about 1,000. This is the second lecture Nuri Pasha has given; the first was reported in my despatch No. 64 of 21st March.

2. Nuri said that he had been impelled to deliver this lecture by his sense of the needs arising out of the existing tension in international relations. He had observed that the better instructed nations kept the conduct of foreign policy out of party politics. As Arabs and, in particular, as Iraqis, they should understand the reason for this and draw profit from the example. The second reason which had brought him to make the

lecture was in order to bring out the connexion between defence plans and foreign policy. The first care of any responsible Government was the attainment of national security, for without it stability and progress were impossible. In describing the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries he wanted to bring into relief the governmental machinery which drew up operational plans and its relations with the framework of foreign policy. He intended then to go on to consider the Arab and Iraqi position under the present circumstances.

3. His Excellency then gave a compressed and, according to King Abdullah, somewhat inaccurate description of the political developments in the 19th century, starting with the rise of Napoleon. He carried on his survey through the 1914-18 war, the rise of nazism and the outbreak of the 1939 war, and ended his historical review by pointing to the destruction and misery caused by this

war and its exploitation by the Soviet Union in the interests of the political domination of communism.

4. Nuri then described the two opposing world blocs whose preponderant strength make neutrality a policy of great difficulty for the smaller States. He illustrated this by the example of Belgium in 1914 and of Denmark, Holland and Norway in 1940. All these nations had not joined the Atlantic Treaty whose principal signatories were now face to face with the Russians in Germany and Austria. He could not see any way by which a third world war could be averted. The Western Powers were now preparing their defensive measures and some believed that the building up of adequate military strength would prevent a war. This might be true or it might not.

5. He then turned to the special position of Iraq and described briefly the attitudes of Turkey, Persia, Pakistan and India the last two of which, he said, were both threatened by Communist China. What should be Iraq's attitude if a clash took place between the two world blocs? This could not be usefully discussed except by the appropriate State organisation. If this organisation could really guarantee the safety of a neutral Iraq it should decide on this and prepare plans on this basis. Iraq's foreign policy should conform. What was the appropriate State organisation? Law No. 15 of 1937 authorised the establishment of a Supreme Defence Council under the Prime Minister, or someone delegated by him, as president. Its members were to be the Ministers of Defence, Interior, Finance, Economics and Communications, and the Chief of the General Staff. Nuri Pasha said that it was a mistake not to have included the Minister for Foreign Affairs and senior officers other than the Chief of the General Staff ought also to have been included. There was another shortcoming in the law. In England the Prime Minister consulted the Leader of the Opposition from time to time on defence matters. This was the secret of the confidence between the parties in England on questions of national security.

6. The Prime Minister then propounded four questions as examples of useful questions for the Supreme Defence Committee to discuss and answer:—

- (1) Can national security be safeguarded by neutrality?
- (2) If, Iraq being neutral, Persia becomes a victim of aggression, what should Iraq's attitude be?

- (3) If in such a case, Persia appealed to the United Nations, and the United Nations forces were to pass through Iraq, what attitude should Iraq adopt?
- (4) What guarantee can Iraq have that an aggressor would stop at her frontiers?

7. Nuri Pasha concluded by saying that he was now studying the shortcomings of the State machinery as a whole and in particular that for safeguarding the security of the State. He intended to present to Parliament shortly a proposal to amend the law he had referred to in a manner designed to guarantee the safety of the State.

8. I saw King Abdullah the morning after the lecture and found him to be critical of Nuri's failure to take a more definite line about neutrality. His view was that neutrality for small countries was completely out of the question and there was no point in talking about it beforehand. British forces would land at Aqaba or Haifa as the situation demanded, whether they had permission or not. In a public commentary, however, King Abdullah praised Nuri's democratic gesture in taking the people into his confidence. He went on to say that security depends on preparedness only, and that neutrality, whether armed or not, is of no value. "World conflagrations burst like storms and earthquakes and are not affected by the wills of nations."

9. The lecture has aroused considerable criticism in the party press. Newspapers of both Right and Left described the lecture as an assertion that neutrality between East and West was impossible for Iraq and attacked it accordingly. Nuri certainly meant this to be understood, and his own party newspaper attributed this view to him, but reports of the lecture show that he avoided saying so in set terms. The organ of the Istiqlal Party is publishing a series of leaders on the subject. In the first of these it declared that the most dangerous feature in the lecture was the "new dictatorial tendency" it revealed. The legislature alone had the power to decide Iraqi national policy and the competence of the Defence Council was limited to the preparation of defence plans. It had no right to decide whether the country should be at war or peace, or whether it should align itself with one or other of the conflicting parties. This remained the right of Parliament alone. In a second leading

article, the newspaper re-stated the standpoint of the Istiqlal Party as recently defined by the Annual Party Conference. This is, as reported in my despatch No. 245 of 15th November, that Iraq should adopt an attitude of armed neutrality, which was defined as one of non-aggression against the West and of defence against the East.

10. The National Democratic Party newspaper said that the lecture revealed that Nuri's real motives in coming to power were to prepare for war on the side of the Western bloc. The paper asked, first what benefits would the Arab countries derive from joining the Western bloc; secondly, would it be possible for Iraq to decide on neutrality, either separately, or in conjunction with the other Arab countries; thirdly, is Iraq obliged to take such a fateful decision; fourthly, would it not be better for Iraq to adopt an attitude similar to that of Egypt during the second world war. This paper also made the point that these vital questions should not be left to a committee of experts who have no constitutional responsibility. Their answers should be decided by the Iraqi people themselves through their freely-elected representatives. The non-party press has been less hostile.

11. Before he delivered the lecture Nuri Pasha asked me what the relationship was

between the Foreign Office and the Defence organisation in the United Kingdom. I showed him the composition and functions of the Ministry of Defence as given in the 1950 Whitaker. He studied this with care. I also told him of the close relations between the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence on all matters relating to defence.

12. Nuri evidently wants to revive the Supreme Defence Council which has been in abeyance for many years. The law establishing it was passed by the Government of Hikmat Sulaiman which came to power after the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* in 1936. The regulations under the law were enacted under the Government of Jamil Madfai in 1938. Article I of these regulations indicates that the intention was for the Supreme Defence Council to consider mainly technical questions of defence, communications and supply. Although Article 5 authorises the Prime Minister to refer to the council questions that he considers to be within the scope of the council's competence, it seems doubtful whether the council's competence could be extended to the second and third of Nuri's questions.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

EQ 1051/12

No. 15

NURI PASHA'S VIEWS ON THE 1930 PORTSMOUTH TREATY

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 28th November)

(1)

(No. 648)

(Telegraphic)

Bagdad,

28th November, 1950.

Iraqi Prime Minister opened the first general conference of his party with a speech summarising the policy of his Government, which I shall report by despatch.

2. He closed his speech as follows: "I took part with the late King Faisal, I and my colleagues, in the Government at the time in the negotiations for the 1930 Treaty and its conclusion. Twenty years have now passed since the treaty was concluded and I believe that you will agree with me that it is now out of date and incompatible with world developments, particularly now that there is an international organisation based on a charter which placed all nations, big and small, on an equal footing. I fully share

the feelings of dissatisfaction of the Egyptians with the 1936 Treaty.

I take this opportunity to say two words in this connexion.

First, our relations with the British Government must be based on principles which do not affect our sovereignty and our national dignity.

Secondly, the foreigner must have no right to maintain military bases on Iraqi territory in time of peace. Necessity and interests call upon us to co-operate with our Egyptian brethren in the light of these principles in order to reach a solution of this vital matter."

Please see my immediately following telegram.

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th November)

(No. 649) *Bagdad.*
(Telegraphic) 29th November, 1950.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Nuri has been shaken by attacks on him in the press since his lecture reported in my despatch No. 247 and, especially in view of the opening of Parliament on 2nd December, has felt the need to conciliate the Opposition, who are making effective use of the Egyptian speech from the Throne. He was, however, careful to include the words

"in time of peace" when speaking of military bases and he will probably repeat to me (compare my telegram No. 642) that the world is not at peace. This speech was clearly designed for internal consumption, but I doubt if it will strengthen Nuri's position. It cannot fail to prejudice his plans for inducing Egypt to take a more realistic view of the defence of the Middle East.

EQ 1012/2

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

No. 16

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Younger. (Received 17th July)

(No. 154. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, 1st July, 1950.

With reference to my despatch No. 237 of 12th December, 1949, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on the leading personalities of Iraq as at 1st July, 1950.

2. This report has been for some time in need of thorough revision. Inaccuracies and discrepancies had crept in and the opinions expressed in a number of cases no longer fully represented our views. Because of this, and in view of the increasing importance which is now attached to personalities, my staff have completely rewritten the report.

3. Seventeen names from the 1949 report have been omitted. Four of these are dead, and the present importance of the remaining thirteen no longer justifies their inclusion. Eleven new names have been added.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Iraq

Royal Family

1. King Faisal II.
2. Abdul Ilah, His Royal Highness the Amir.
3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir.
4. Hussein Nasir.

Other Personalities

1. Abbas Mahdi.
2. Abdul Amir al Uzri.
3. Abdul Aziz al Mudhaffer.
4. Abdul Aziz al Qassab.
5. Abdul Fettah Ibrahim.
6. Abdul Hadi Chalabi.
7. Abdul Hadi Dhahir.
8. Abdul Hadi Pachachi.
9. Abdul Ilah Hafidh.
10. Abdul Jabbar Chalabi.
11. Abdul Karim al Uzri.
12. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid).
13. Abdul Majid Allawi.
14. Abdul Qadir Gailani.
15. Abdul Qadir Rashid.

16. Abdul Razzaq al Dhahir.
17. Abdul Razzaq al Uzri.
18. Abdul Wahhab Mahmud.
19. Abdul Wahhab Murjan.
20. Abdul Wahid al Haj Sikkar (Sheikh).
21. Abdullah Damitaji.
22. Abdullah Qassab.
23. Ahmad al Ajil.
24. Ahmad, Sheikh of Barzan.
25. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban.
26. Ahmad al Rawi.
27. Ahmad Zaki al Khayat.
28. Akram Mushtaq.
29. Ali Haidar Sulaiman.
30. Ali Jawdat al 'Ayyubi.
31. Ali Khalid al Hejazi.
32. Ali Mahmud Sheikh Ali.
33. Ali Muntaz.
34. Ali al Sharqi.
35. Alwan Hussein, C.B.E.
36. Arshad al Umari, K.B.E.
37. Asim al Naqib, Sayid.
38. Ata Amin.
39. Aziz Sherif (Abdul Aziz bin Sherif bin Abdul Majid).
40. Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud.
41. Babekr Agha I Selim.
42. Baha Ud Din Nuri.
43. Darwish al Haidari.
44. Daud al Haidari.
45. Daud al Sa'adi (Saiyid).
46. Dha Ja'far.
47. Fadhil Jamali.
48. Faiq Samarr ai.
49. Hamid al Naqib.
50. Hashim Jawad.
51. Hassan Sami Tatar.
52. Hazim Shemdin Agha.
53. Hikmat Sulaiman.
54. Hussain Fauzi.
55. Hussain Jamil.
56. Ibrahim Akif al Alusi.
57. Ibrahim Saleh al Kabir.
58. Ismail Namiq, K.B.E.
59. Ismail Safwat.
60. Ja'far Hamandi.
61. Jalal Baban.
62. Jamal Baban.
63. Jamil Abdul Wahhab.
64. Jamil Madfai.
65. Jamil al Rawi.
66. Jamil al Urfali.
67. Jamil al Wadi.
68. Jebron Malkon.
69. Kamil Chaderchi.
70. Khalil Ismail.
71. Khalil Kanna.
72. Mahmud Abdul Kerim.
73. Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul.
74. Mahmud Agha Zibari.
75. Mahmud I Sheikh Said: Sheikh.
76. Mahmud Subhi Daftari.

77. Mahru al Hadhdhal, Sheikh.
78. Majid Mustafa.
79. Mar Shimun.
80. Maulud Mukhlis.
81. Muaffaq al Alusi.
82. Mudhaffar Ahmad.
83. Muhammed Ali Mahmud.
84. Mohammed Hassan Kubba.
85. Muhammad Hussain Hadid.
86. Muhammad Hussain al Kashif al Ghita.
87. Muhammad Mahdi Kuba.
88. Mohammed Ridha Shabibi.
89. Muhammad al Sadr (Saiyid).
90. Mohammed Salim al Radhi.
91. Mulla Mustafa.
92. Musa Shabandar.
93. Mustafa al Umari.
94. Muhammad Amin al Pachachi.
95. Nadhif Shawi.
96. Nadim Shakir al Pachachi.
97. Naji al Asil.
98. Naji Shaukat.
99. Najib al Rawi.
100. Nasrat al Farisi.
101. Nuri al Qadhi.
102. Nuri Sa'id.
103. Nuruddin Mahmud.
104. Rafail Petros Butti.
105. Rashid Ali al Gailani.
106. Rauf al Bahrani.
107. Rauf al Chadirchi.
108. Razzuq Ghannam.
109. Sa'ad Umar.
110. Sadiq al Bassam.
111. Said Haqqi.
112. Saleh Jabr, K.B.E.
113. Salih Saib.
114. Salim Terzi.
115. Salman Sheikh Daud.
116. Sami Fattah.
117. Sami Shawkat.
118. Sfuq al Ajil.
119. Shakir al Wadi, M.V.O.
120. Shawkat al Zahawi.
121. Taha al Hashemi.
122. Tahsin Ali.
123. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O.
124. Talib Mushraq.
125. Tawfiq al Naib.
126. Tawfiq Suweidi.
127. Tawfiq Wahbi Ma'ruf, C.B.E.
128. Thabit Abdul Nur.
129. Umar Nadhmi.
130. Yahya Qassim.
131. Yunis Bahri.
132. Yusuf Abdullah al Gailani (Saiyid).
133. Yusuf Ghanima.

Leading Personalities in Iraq

The Royal Family

1. King Faisal II

Born in Bagdad on 2nd May, 1935, the son of King Ghazi and a sister of the Amir Abdul Ilah. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father on 3rd April, 1939.

During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May 1941 he and his mother were at first confined at Qasr Zuhur on the outskirts of Bagdad but were removed to the summer palace at Pir Mun just before the collapse and flight of the rebel Government.

The King spent his summer holidays in Egypt in 1943 and 1944 and in England in 1946, where he attended the Victory Celebrations and was the guest of the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace.

His early education was directed by an English governess who was succeeded by an English tutor in 1946. In 1947 he went to Sandroyd Preparatory School and entered Harrow, his father's old school, in May 1949. He spent the summer holidays of 1948 and the Easter holidays of 1950 in Iraq. In 1950 he was given a notably warm welcome by the people and the opportunity was taken for him to visit a number of important provincial centres.

The King has a tendency to asthma, but his health has improved during the last few years. He is intelligent and well-mannered and is said to be doing well at Harrow. He is very popular in Iraq.

2. Abdul Ilah, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born in the Hejaz in 1912, the only son of the late King Ali, ex-King of the Hejaz. He came to Bagdad with his father in 1926 after Ibn Saud had expelled the latter from the Hejaz. He was educated privately and at Victoria College, Alexandria. He became Regent on the death of his cousin King Ghazi in April 1939.

During the Cabinet crisis of January 1941 which led to the fall of Rashid Ali's Cabinet, he endeavoured to resist the Prime Minister's demands for the appointment of new Ministers, but fled to Diwaniyah to escape the threats to his life made by four army officers Salah-ud-din Sabbagh, Kamil Shabib, Fahmi Said and Mahmud Salman. Rashid Ali thereupon resigned and Taha al Hashimi succeeded him. The Regent then returned to the capital.

During the night of 1st April the four army officers already mentioned occupied Bagdad with their troops and went to the Palace to demand the resignation of Taha al Hashimi and the appointment of Rashid Ali as Prime Minister. The Regent was, however, warned in time, eluded them and took refuge in the American Legation. Thence he was smuggled to Habbaniya on 2nd April and flown to Basra. On instructions from Bagdad, the Officer Commanding, Iraq Army, at Basra attempted to arrest the Regent, who took refuge on board of one of His Majesty's ships. By now any hope of rallying support for his cause in the south had been lost. On 16th April he was flown to Jerusalem, together with Ali Jaudat and Jamil Madfai, who had meanwhile joined him at Basra. During the hostilities in May, the Regent remained in Palestine. He returned to Bagdad on 1st June, after the collapse of Rashid Ali's régime and was welcomed by a large gathering of officials, notables and well-wishers.

In November 1943 he was declared Heir to the Throne under the provisions of an amendment to the Organic Law passed in October.

In December 1943 the Regent paid an extensive visit to the United Kingdom at the invitation of His Majesty's Government. For three days he was a guest of Their Majesties the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. During 1944 the Regent toured extensively within the country and paid particular attention to the army manoeuvres which he constantly attended. In June he visited Alexandria, returning early in July, and in September he again visited Transjordan and Egypt. He paid a second brief visit to Transjordan in February 1945.

In May 1945 he left on an official visit to the United States, returning via Canada and Great Britain. In London he was twice received by the King, met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet and attended the Victory Thanksgiving Service. He also visited the occupied area of Germany. He returned via France and Italy, whence he proceeded on an official visit to the President of the Turkish Republic before returning to Iraq in September.

The Regent visited London in the summer of both 1946 and 1947. In 1946 he attended the Victory Celebrations on 8th June, and in 1947 he paid official

visits to France and Belgium as well as to London. He and Nuri Pasha held informal discussions with the Foreign Office in September 1947 about the Iraq Government's desire to replace the 1930 Treaty. He was therefore to some extent committed personally to the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty and was placed in a difficult position by the demonstrations against it in Bagdad in January 1948. He did not extricate himself from this position with undiminished credit.

In 1948 he took a personal part in the unsuccessful attempts to unify the war effort of the Arab States against Israel and paid a number of visits to the Iraq Army in Palestine. He paid a State Visit to the Shah of Persia in June 1949 and visited England later in the summer.

The Regent is an intelligent man with an excellent memory. He has a shy charm of manner and his natural judgment is good. But his will is abnormally weak and he can seldom withstand either his own passions or the pressure of others. He tries to take his duties seriously and he is genuinely anxious to hand over the monarchy unimpaired in strength and reputation to his nephew the King, but he is easily discouraged or intimidated. He is much influenced by his mother.

He is basically uninterested in affairs of State and does not identify himself with the progress and aspirations of his people, whose interests he seems to regard as distinct from those of the Royal Family. He feels more at home with Englishmen than with Iraqis and his recreations are those of the English. He maintains a large racing stable, supports a pack of hounds and breeds pheasants and spaniels. He is irresponsibly extravagant, and in 1945 spent over \$200,000 in the United States on jewellery. He is also believed to have invested heavily, at the cost of grave indebtedness, in speculative industrial enterprises in Bagdad.

His Regency has been a troubled one and he has twice been forced to flee from Bagdad. These experiences have impelled him to make a real effort to obtain the personal loyalty of the Army, in which he has had some success. But these experiences have also implanted in him a deep distrust of his people and a determination to keep in his own hands as much power and patronage as possible. His fears cause him to interfere in details of Government policy and administration, particularly in the appointments of officials and the choice of Government candidates for Parliament. He will never allow a Prime Minister a completely free hand in the selection of his Ministers. At the same time his indolence makes him neglect the higher direction of policy. He seldom reads State papers unless they have direct connexion with the position of the Hashimite House.

He has twice been married. First in 1936 to the daughter of Salah-al-Din Fauzi Beg of Cairo, whom he divorced in 1940, and secondly to another Egyptian lady Mlle. Faiza Tarabulsi in November 1948, but stories about his dissipations still circulate. He speaks very good English.

He was made an Honorary Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force in September 1943, was appointed Honorary G.C.M.G. in 1942 and Honorary G.C.V.O., with the award of the Royal Victorian Collar in 1943.

3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born at Istanbul 1900, he is the youngest son of the late King Hussein of the Hejaz and a half brother to the late Kings Ali of Hejaz and Faisal I of Iraq, and to King Abdullah of Jordan. His mother was a Turk.

He was educated at Istanbul. He served with the Sharifian forces during the first world war and won the good opinion of British officers. He was appointed an Honorary G.B.E. for his services.

41016

He came to Iraq in 1922 and was commissioned in the Iraqi cavalry. He acted as Regent for a short time during King Faisal's absence in 1924. From 1925 to 1928 he studied agriculture at Oxford and from 1928 to 1931 he lived in Cyprus where his father had retired after being driven from the Hejaz by Ibn Saud.

After the death of King Hussein in 1931 the Amir Zaid was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in January 1932. He was transferred to Cairo in 1934, owing to the scandal caused by the marriage of his sister to Atta Amin (q.v.), but he refused to accept this appointment. At the end of 1934 he was engaged in litigation in Athens about properties which he claimed to have inherited in Greece. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Berlin in September 1935. In 1937 he was recalled for enquiries into allegations that he had used his position to give false certificates for arms destined for Spain. He survived the enquiry and returned to Berlin. He was withdrawn from Berlin in the spring of 1938 and remained in Iraq until the summer of 1939 when he went to live at Istanbul.

In 1933 he had married a Turkish lady who had been divorced by her previous husband. This *mesalliance* was the main reason for his not being made Regent on the death of King Faisal in 1939.

He came to Bagdad in October 1941 to meet the Amir Abdullah who paid a state visit to Iraq in that year. In June 1942 he returned to Turkey, which remained his home until he was appointed the first Iraqi Ambassador in London in 1946.

In 1943, 1945, 1946 and 1949 he came to Iraq to act as Regent during the absences of the Amir Abdul Ilah.

The Amir Zaid is a friendly and well-mannered man. He is a shrewd observer who takes a detached and cynical view of Iraqi and Arab politics. Although he is lazy and dislikes responsibility, he would probably have made a more successful Regent than his cousin Abdul Ilah. He speaks English and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His wife has had some success as an artist, having held exhibitions of her paintings in London and in Paris, but she is seldom seen in Iraq.

4. Hussein Nasir

A cousin of the King and of the Regent, with the style of "Highness."

He was educated in Istanbul during the 1914-18 war. From 1935 to 1938 he was attached to the Iraqi Legation at Ankara and later held an appointment in the Royal Palace at Bagdad. Iraqi Consul in Jerusalem from 1946 to 1948.

He is married to a daughter of King Abdullah of Jordan, whose service he entered in 1948. He was appointed Jordan Minister at Ankara in December 1948.

A good humoured, genial and friendly man without much ability or personality.

Other Personalities

1. Abbas Mahdi

Shia. Born 1898. Minister of Education 1932-33. Minister of Economics and Communications in Jamil Madfai's Cabinet in 1934. Director-General of Tapu 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1937. Minister of Economics and Communications 1937-38, in the Cabinets of Hikmat Sulaiman and Jamil Madfai. Appointed Principal Private Secretary at the Royal Palace in July 1941.

Minister at Tehran 1943-45. Appointed first Iraqi Minister in Moscow in 1945. Was made senator in 1949, after his final return from Moscow, a post which

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he never liked and from which he had often been absent.

Never a strong personality, he is not now prominent in public life.

2. Abdul Amir al Uzri

Born 1899 at Kadhimain of the well-known Shia landowning family. Brother of Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.). Educated Bagdad and United States. D.Sc. Michigan University. Appointed engineer in Directorate-General of Irrigation 1929 and rose to Assistant Director-General in 1941.

Minister of Communications and Works in Hamdi Pachachi's Cabinet of 1944. Minister of Supply for a month in August 1944 and then returned to Communications and Works. Appointed Director-General of Irrigation 1946.

He takes little part in politics. His ambitions seem to be centred in the Irrigation Department, where he aspires to concentrate all the power in his own hands.

3. Abdul Aziz al Mudhaffar

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1897. Speaks English, French and German. Entered Government service soon after the occupation in 1917 and rose to be Mutasarrif of Mosul in 1931. After being acquitted on a charge of misappropriation of public funds he joined the Iraqi Foreign Service and served in Tehran, Beirut and Paris, where he was appointed Counsellor in 1935.

He was recalled to Bagdad in 1937 after being accused of illegal dealings in connexion with the Spanish civil war. On his return he went into business in which he has had considerable success owing to his energy and astuteness.

Although no longer a political figure, he still has influence in Government circles which he uses to further his business interests. He is married to a daughter of Naji al Suweidi.

4. Abdul Aziz Qasab

Sunni of Bagdad. Entered Government service under the Naqib's Provisional Government in 1921. Mutasarrif of Kerbala 1922, Muntafik 1923. Director-General Administration in Ministry of Interior 1923. Mutasarrif of Mosul 1924.

Held ministerial appointments in several Governments between 1928 and 1935. President of Chamber of Deputies 1947 and 1948.

Politically opposed to Nuri Pasha and Saleh Jabr, he is respected but without much influence.

5. Abdul Fattah Ibrahim

Sunni, born Bagdad 1906. Educated in Bagdad and at the American University of Beirut, where he was infected by communism. A teacher from 1934 onwards, he was appointed inspector in the Ministry of Education in 1943 but resigned in 1945 when he was transferred to Basra as Director of Education. Since then he has been director of the Rabita Press, which publishes Leftist literature.

Founder of the National Unity Party (Hizb al Ittihad al Watani), he has always been sympathetic to communism, and when he was a teacher he was often reported as spreading communism among students. His name has not, however, been connected with those tried since 1947 for underground Communist activity.

6. Abdul Hadi Chalabi

Shia of Kadhimain. Born Bagdad 1895, the son of a wealthy landowner.

Deputy for Bagdad 1934 and again in 1935. Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet of Arshad al Umari 1946.

In politics he supports Saleh Jabr and Nuri Said, but he is more interested in business. He is probably the largest corn broker in the country and many agriculturalists are heavily indebted to him. He made big profits from the export of barley at the inflated prices ruling in Greece and Italy in 1947, and was attacked in the press for obtaining more than his share of export licences through Saleh Jabr who was then Prime Minister.

Stout and unattractive in appearance, he is good company but speaks Arabic and Persian only. His wife appears in public.

7. Abdul Hadi al Dhahir

Bagdad Shia, born about 1900, whose wealth derives mainly from property in the city of Bagdad. Interested in politics, but too rich to need to work, he twice entered Government service and twice resigned after two or three years. He has often been a Deputy and has intermittently practised as a lawyer. As Mutasarrif of Hilla from 1943 to 1944 he showed himself an experienced and honest but lazy administrator.

He has a clear mind, but though by nature affable and moderate, he has in recent years been under the influence of his more energetic and fanatic younger brother Abdul Razzaq (q.v.).

He was Minister of Economics in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet in 1946 and is a bitter opponent of Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr.

8. Dr. Abdul Hadi al Pachachi

Sunni. Born in 1894. Son of a former Rais Belidiya of Bagdad and cousin of Muzahim al Pachachi (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and Istanbul, he qualified as a doctor in France and entered Government service in 1933 as director of the Isolation Hospital.

He was Minister of Social Affairs in Arshad al Umari's Cabinet from June to November 1946, was appointed Mayor of Bagdad in 1948, and Director-General in the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1949.

Fat, genial and lazy, he does not play a prominent part in politics. He is married to a White Russian wife and speaks fluent French and some English.

9. Abdul Hal Hafidh

Born about 1897 in Mosul. Son of Mohammed Ali Fadhil who was for some time a Senator. Educated in Paris where he qualified as a dentist but also took a degree in political science.

Deputy for Mosul in 1926 and again in 1935. In 1935 and again from 1938 to 1940 he held foreign service appointments at Paris, Beirut and Bombay. In 1936 he was Director-General of Commerce and in 1941 Director-General of Revenue.

Held a number of ministerial appointments from 1942 onwards under Nuri Said, Arshad al Umari and Saleh Jabr. Appointed first Governor of the National Bank in 1949.

Fair and fat with a passion for growing roses, he is friendly and co-operative, but not energetic. He speaks French and English.

10. Abdul Jabbar al Chelabi

Bagdad Shia, born about 1906. Graduated in agriculture at the University of California and in education at Columbia Teachers' College. He served first in the Ministry of Education, in which he became Director of Primary Education (and Acting Director-General) in 1943 and Chief Inspector in 1942 onwards under Nuri Sa'id, Arshad al Umari and later of Supply in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet. When this Cabinet resigned he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Communications and Works. He has also been a member of Iraqi delegations to the San Francisco and other conferences.

He is a sincere nationalist but broad-minded and reasonable with a keen sense of humour. He is con-

vinced of the need of British assistance for Iraq, and is highly respected by his many British friends, who can always rely on his co-operation. One of Iraq's few honest and competent officials, he has no illusions about his countrymen and is subject to fits of depression. He speaks English very well.

11. Abdul Karim al Uzri

Kadhimain Shia, born in 1908; brother of Abdul Amir al Uzri (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and at the London School of Economics, he has held a number of Government appointments. Secretary to the Ministry of Education, 1932. Assistant Secretary at the Royal Palace, 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1936. Acting Director-General of Revenues, 1937. Director of Commerce, 1938. Resigned 1938. Director-General of Economics from 1939 until he resigned again in 1942 after being involved in a financial scandal.

Elected Deputy in 1943, and again in 1950, he is a member of the Bagdad Chamber of Commerce and of the Board of the National Bank. He joined the National Democratic Party on its foundation in 1946 but resigned about a year later. He has a profitable estate near Kadhimain and interests in a cement factory. He married into the large Rifa'i family of Najaf.

Minister of Finance under Tawfiq al Suweidi, February 1950.

As a nationalist, he is highly critical of many aspects of British policy in Iraq; but he is western in outlook, realises the value for Iraq of the British connexion, and is friendly and co-operative. He speaks English well.

12. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid)

Shia from the lower Gharraf (Muntafik). Born about 1894 of an influential family and owns a large estate.

Deputy in the Turkish Parliament and in most Iraqi Parliaments from 1927 onwards. He was a supporter of the late Yasin Pasha al Hashemi.

Minister of Education under Rashid Ali in 1933. Minister of Economics in the Governments of Taha al Hashimi and Nuri Said in 1941 and of Communications and Works under Nuri in 1942. Senator from 1941. Again Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1950. He now strongly supports Saleh Jabr and is the main instrument of the latter's influence in the Muntafik.

A strong nationalist and fervent Shia, he is uneducated and xenophobic. He speaks no European language.

13. Abdul Majid Allawi

Bagdad Shia, born in 1898, who graduated in law in Bagdad, practised as a lawyer for some time and is a founder member of the Iraqi Bar Association. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1932 and served in Khorranshahr, Tehran and Tabriz until 1938, when he returned to the Ministry. Acting Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs from 1941 to 1944. Minister of Social Affairs 1944-46 in Hamdi al Pachachi's Cabinet. Appointed Mutasarrif Kerbala in 1948 and Administrative Inspector in 1949.

He speaks English fairly well, and has been consistently pro-British, but he has little influence in political circles.

He was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946.

14. Abdul Qadir Gailani

Born in Bagdad in 1904 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad. Elder brother of Yusuf Gailani (q.v.). Educated at Bagdad and studied at the London School of Economics. Entered the Foreign Service

1926, and served in London and Cairo, where he was in charge of the Legation several times between 1934 and 1943. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1943. He was closely associated with the rebel Government of Rashid Ali and after its collapse was interned in Rhodesia and later in Iraq. Released 1944. Reappointed to Foreign Service and sent as Chargé d'Affaires to Karachi, 1948. Transferred to Cairo, 1949, but was not appointed Minister because the Regent distrusts him for the part he played in 1941.

He tries hard to be pleasant and has done his best to live down the past. Both he and his Egyptian wife speak good English.

15. Abdul Qadir al Rashid

Bagdad Sunni, related to the Gailani family. Born 1894. Speaks English well.

Secretary to the Council of Ministers 1924-32. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Naji Shawkat's Cabinet 1932-33. An Assistant Manager and Liaison Officer in the Rafidain Oil Company since October 1933.

A quiet, efficient, but lazy man, he is married to a voluble but accomplished Turkish lady who is vice-principal of the Queen Aliya Girls' College.

16. Abdul Razzaq al Dhahir

Shia of Bagdad. Born about 1905. Younger brother of Abdul Hadi Dhahir (q.v.). He has travelled in Europe and speaks English fairly well. In 1942 he was attacked by a nervous disease which affected his brain, and he spent some time in a mental home in Beirut. Joined the Istiqlal Party when it was founded in 1946, but soon left it to join the late Sa'ad Saleh's Liberal Party, of which he continued to be a member until Sa'ad's death early in 1949. Deputy for Bagdad since 1948 and has been on Iraqi delegations to several inter-Parliamentary conferences. Minister of Economics in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949.

Abdul Razzaq and his brother are well off, having property in Bagdad and lands in Abu Ghuraib. He is a self-opinionated man with a wide range of superficial knowledge. A political opponent of Nuri Pasha. He has published a book damning tribal feudalism in Iraq and three volumes of essays inveighing against British imperialism. Like many other opponents of British policy in Iraq, he is an admirer of Britain at home.

17. Abdul Razzaq al Uzri

Shia born Bagdad about 1890 of the same family as Abdul Amir and Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.). Lawyer. First became Deputy in 1932 and afterwards served as Mutasarrif in Kerbala and Diyala.

Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Sa'id 1942-43. Mutasarrif Hilla 1944, Bagdad 1945. Director-General of Tapu 1946. Mutasarrif Bagdad 1948-49. Administrative Inspector December 1949. Deputy 1950.

An ineffective man, he only became Minister because no other eligible Shia could be found.

18. Abdul Wahhab Mahmud

Sunni of Basra. Born in 1909. Educated Basra and Bagdad, where he graduated in law in 1932. As a young man he held advanced Leftist opinions. Arrested by Jamil Madfai's Government in 1938 for attempting to raise the Diwanliya tribes against them. Released by Nuri Pasha after the military demonstration which removed the Madfai Government. Deputy 1939 to 1947. Minister of Finance in Suwaidi Cabinet of 1946. Member of the Liberal Party from 1946 to 1948, when the party suspended activity.

19. Abdul Wahhab Murjan

Born about 1910 of a rich Shia landowning family of Hilla. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he was appointed a judge about 1935 but soon resigned to practise as a lawyer.

In 1946 and 1947 he was leader in Hilla of Kamil Chaderchi's National Democratic Party but resigned in 1947 owing to his exclusion from the party's Higher Committee and to his being taken up by Saleh Jabr, who secured his election to the Chamber of Deputies in March 1947.

He was again elected Deputy for Hilla in the 1948 elections and was appointed Minister of Economics in June 1948 in Muzahim Pachachi's Government. Resigned on his election as President of the Chamber of Deputies in autumn 1948, which post he still holds. Elected vice-President of Nuri Sa'id's Constitutional Union Party in December 1949.

He is not very intelligent, and owes most of his influence originally to Saleh Jabr's and recently to Nuri Sa'id's support. He has recently fallen foul of Saleh Jabr on two personal issues. He does not speak English.

20. Abdul Wahid al Haj Sikkar, Sheikh

Born about 1890. Chief of the Fetlah tribe of the Mishkhab in Diwaniyah liwa. Worked with Rashid Ali to overthrow Ali Jawdat's Government, 1935. Deputy, 1937. Imprisoned by Hikmet Sulaiman's Government for fomenting tribal disturbance, 1937. Deputy, 1939. Supported Rashid Ali's rebel Government, 1941. Interned 1941 to 1944 and in residence force until 1945.

Abdul Wahid's interest in politics sprang from his desire to increase his local wealth and importance through political influence in Bagdad. The compulsory economy of his exile left him the richest tribal leader in the Middle Euphrates and his influence is still greater than that of any other Chief of the Fetlah. Since his internment he has not taken any part in Bagdad politics.

21. Abdullah al Danilaji

Sunni, born in Mosul in 1895, and formerly called Abdullah Said Effendi. Studied medicine in Constantinople and served in the Turkish army, but transferred his allegiance to Ibn Saud when the latter occupied Hasa in 1913.

As Ibn Saud's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1922 he signed the Uqair Protocol, and in 1926 took part in the negotiations in London which led to the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927. His influence with Ibn Saud afterwards waned and in 1928, after the failure of the Medina Railway Conference at Haifa, at which he was Ibn Saud's representative, he posted his resignation to Ibn Saud and came to Bagdad instead of returning to the Hejaz.

In Iraq he has been thrice Minister for Foreign Affairs (in 1930-31, 1934 and 1942), three Director-General of Health (1932-33, 1934-35 and 1941-42), and Master of Ceremonies at the Palace in 1937-38.

From 1942 onwards, he devoted himself mainly to business. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and was elected Deputy for Mosul in the 1948 elections.

He was appointed Iraqi Ambassador in Tehran in February 1950.

He speaks English well.

22. Abdullah Qassab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1900, the son of an 'Alim, Abbas Amin al Fetwa. Nephew of Abdul Aziz Qassab (q.v.). Educated Bagdad, graduated from the Law College, 1928, and entered Government Service. Qaimmaqam Samarra 1936. Director of Tribal Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 1938. Mutasarrif of Diwaniya, 1941. Mosul, 1944. Director-General of the Date Monopoly, 1947.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha, 1943 and again under Arshad al Umari in 1946.

A fairly capable administrator without marked political leanings.

23. Ahmad al Ajil

Sunni Sheikh of the Shammar Jarba tribe. Younger brother of Sfuq al Ajil (q.v.), he was born about 1923 and educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and in Mosul and Bagdad.

He went to London with his father Ajil in 1937 to attend the coronation of His Majesty King George VI. After Ajil's death in 1940 Ahmad set about undermining Sfuq's position in the tribe, disputed the inheritance with him, and in 1944 was suspected of being involved in an attempt to poison him with locust bait.

He became Deputy for Mosul in 1948 and in October of that year he was recognised by the Government as paramount Sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq instead of Mish'an al Fajsal who had replaced Sfuq the previous June. He is now more popular than his rivals with the tribe, but constant intrigue amongst themselves has reduced the influence of all Shammar Sheikhs.

Flashy, engaging and plausible, Ahmad is one of the very few English-speaking tribesmen.

24. Ahmad, Sheikh of Barzan

Kurdish chieftain of Barzan, at the foot of the Chia-i-Shirin. Elder brother of Mulla Mustafa (q.v.).

The Military Government established friendly relations with him in 1919 but did not exercise administrative control in his area. In 1920 he was implicated in the murder of two British officials, and in 1922 he harboured Turkish agents and unsuccessfully attacked Amadia. On both occasions troops destroyed his Barzan headquarters. He made peace with the authorities in 1923 and was permitted to remain in Barzan.

After a successful private war against a neighbouring Baradost chieftain in 1931, he was defeated by Iraqi Government troops, assisted by the Royal Air Force, and driven across the Turkish frontier in 1932. The Turks first interned him and his brothers but surrendered him to the Iraqi Government in 1933 on condition that his life be spared. He lived in forced residence in Mosul, Hilla and Bagdad until 1935, when he was permitted to move to Sulaimaniya.

When his brother Mulla Mustafa escaped from Sulaimaniya in 1943, Sheikh Ahmad was again removed to Hilla, but was allowed to return to Barzan when a settlement was made with Mulla Mustafa in 1944. Although at this time he was overshadowed politically by Mulla Mustafa, his religious influence was so strong that Mulla Mustafa dared not oppose him openly. He became unbalanced, liquidated a number of Mullahs in the name of his own home-made religion, and finally ordered his men to attack the local Government headquarters in July 1945.

After full-scale operations, which were aided by lavish bribery, Iraqi forces defeated the Barzanis, and Sheikh Ahmad and Mulla Mustafa fled to Persia, where they were well received by the Russian authorities.

Sheikh Ahmad returned to Iraq in the spring of 1947 and surrendered with a number of his followers. He was sentenced to death, but in December 1949 the sentence was commuted to one of life imprisonment. He is in Basra gaol.

25. Ahmed Mukhtar Baban

Born about 1895. Sunni from near Khaniqin. He is not a true Baban but takes the name from a marriage connexion with the late Jamil Bey Baban of Kifri. Educated Bagdad Law School and served as

a judge for many years. Director-General of Supplies, 1942. Successively Minister of Social Affairs, Communications and Works and Justice under Nuri Sa'id, 1942-44. Minister of Justice under Hamdi Pachachi 1944. Minister of Social Affairs, 1946. Head of the Royal Diwan, 1946.

He has considerable influence over the Regent and his advice is not always good. His personal morals are questionable. He speaks no English.

26. Ahmad al Rawi, K.B.E.

Born about 1896, the son of a Bagdad Sunni Alim. Brother of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). Became a police officer soon after the formation of the Iraqi Government and after reaching the rank of Commandant, served in several liwas as a mutasarrif. In 1939 he was made an administrative inspector and soon afterwards was placed on pension.

After the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebel Government in 1941 he was recalled by Jamil Madfai and made Director-General of Police. He held this position successfully for four years of war and co-operated wholeheartedly with the British Forces. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for his war services in 1946.

Created Pasha by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan in 1943, he was appointed Iraqi Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1945 and to the King of Transjordan in 1946. He returned to Iraq the same year to take up the post, first of Director-General, and later (1949) of Under-Secretary, in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he represented Iraq at several meetings of the Arab League Political Committee in 1948 and was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in the latter half of 1949.

A supporter of Iraq's British connexion, Ahmad Pasha is an intelligent and pleasant man. More politician than administrator, he is generally well-informed but does not carry the weight that his position and connexion would lead one to expect. He used to aspire to cabinet rank, but now seems satisfied with his present post, in which he can indulge his liking for travel and talk. He speaks English well.

27. Ahmad Zaki al Khayyat

Bagdad Shia, born 1896. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he held several posts as Consul-General, Qaimmaqam, Mutasarrif and Land Settlement Officer. Director-General Posts and Telegraphs 1937 to 1941, when he was dismissed from his post as a supporter of Rashid Ali.

Appointed Director-General of Press and Propaganda in 1944 and co-operated well with the British. Appointed Iraqi Consul-General in Jerusalem in 1945 but resigned on his transfer to Jeddah in 1946. Elected Deputy in 1947 but not returned in the 1948 elections.

Now a lawyer, he has an interest in the company which holds the Rootes agency in Iraq.

28. Akram Mushtaq

Sunni, born Bagdad 1903. Brother of Talib Mushtaq (q.v.). Gazetted officer in the Iraqi army, 1927. Passed Cranwell and appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, 1930. Captain, 1932; Major, 1937; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938; Commander of the Royal Iraqi Air Force 1937 to 1939. Relieved of his command and commission and appointed Director-General of Civil Aviation in 1939. He still holds this post. Member of the Iraqi delegation to the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in 1944.

He is an intelligent and likeable man and speaks English well, but he is an indifferent administrator and has little influence. He took an active part in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* of 1936 and some people still hold this against him. A drug-taker, he tried to

commit suicide in 1949, and was afterwards sent to Europe to be cured.

29. Ali Haidar Sulaiman

Born at Rowanduz, 1905 of a well-known Kurdish family. Educated at Mosul and the American University, Beirut. He represented his university at the 1929 meeting of the International Students Union at Geneva.

Lecturer in Modern History at the Higher Teachers' Training College, 1930. Transferred to Ministry of Interior, 1933. Transferred to the Iraqi Foreign Service and served at Rome and Cairo between 1937 and 1939. He was interned after 1941 as a sympathiser with Rashid Ali (he is a brother-in-law of Yunis Sab'awi who was hanged for his part in the rebellion). Released in 1944 he became a partner of Ali Kemal in the New Bagdad scheme. In 1949 he was associated in business with Abdul Hadi Chelabi.

Deputy for Rowanduz 1948. Resigned 1950. Minister of Social Affairs under Muzahim Pachachi, 1948. Minister of Communications and Works under Ali Jawdat, 1949-50.

He supports Muzahim Pachachi and is opposed to Nuri Pasha. A sincere and intelligent nationalist with moderate reformist views. Speaks good English. His wife appears in public, but does not know English.

30. Ali Jawdat al'Ayyubi

Sunni of humble Mosul origin, born 1886. Educated at Istanbul and commissioned in the Turkish army. In Turkish times he was a member of the Arab Nationalist society Al Abd al Iraqi. He fought against the British at Shuailbah but surrendered soon afterwards and was employed in 1915 to encourage Arab officer prisoners to join the Arab Revolt. Later he joined Faisal, and in 1920 was Faisal's Military Governor at Aleppo.

He returned to Iraq with King Faisal in 1921 and from then until 1923 he held various posts in the provincial administration. In 1922 he took an active part in agitation against the Mandate.

As Minister for Interior under Ja'far al Askari (1923-24) he voted for the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. He was again a provincial Governor and later worked in the Ministry of Interior between 1924 and 1930, when he became Minister of Interior under Nuri Sa'id. He resigned from the Cabinet in September 1930 and also (in company with Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali) from the Chamber of Deputies in protest against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930.

Private Secretary to the King 1933; Prime Minister 1934, he was forced to resign by an agitation against him throughout the country organised by Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali.

President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1935. Iraqi Minister in London, August 1935; Paris, December 1936-October 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Sa'id 1939.

After the Rashid Ali *coup d'état* in April 1941 he joined the Regent at Basra and accompanied him to Jerusalem. After the collapse of the rebellion he returned to Bagdad and became Minister for Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in June 1941.

Iraqi Minister at Washington 1942-48. He joined Muzahim Pachachi's Government in the reshuffle of September 1948 as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in December 1949 he succeeded, after two failures, in forming a Cabinet which resigned in February 1950.

He has always been a weak and vacillating character of small intelligence and he is now a semi-invalid. He is, however, well meaning and friendly, and he is respected for his nationalist past. He has become rich through acquiring Government land. His wife is a Syrian who speaks good English and his elder son is married to an American. He himself speaks some English.

31. Ali Khalid al Hejazi

Sunni, born about 1893 in Damascus. After serving in the Ottoman army he became an officer in the Kurdish gendarmerie at the end of the first world war and was awarded the B.E.M. and the M.C. for gallantry during campaigns in Kurdistan.

Appointed Inspector of Police, 1921; Assistant Commandant of Police, 1923; Commandant of Police in the Mobile Force, 1935; Commandant of Police Sulaimaniya, 1937. He was Commandant of Police Bagdad from after the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 until 1946 and did good work to stop looting after May 1941.

In 1946 he was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya 1947-48, he was one of the very few Arab officials to speak fluent Kurdish. Appointed Director-General of Police in May 1948, he did much to restore the police morale which had been shaken as a result of the disturbances of January 1948. A heavy drinker and a poor administrator, but tough and strict in discipline, he set about re-equipping the police, especially the mobile forces. He was loyal to the Regent and the British connexion.

Unfortunately he was extremely corrupt, and during 1949 his ambition grew. He alienated Saleh Jabr (*q.v.*) and mistakenly believed that the Regent's favour would suffice in all circumstances. When in February 1950 Saleh Jabr became Minister of Interior he prevailed on the Regent and the Prime Minister to move Ali Khalid to a northern Mutasarrifiya; and during the night of 11th-12th February Ali, in drunken resentment, made an abortive attempt to use his mobile forces against the Government, was arrested and later condemned to life imprisonment. The Court of Cassation sent the case back to the Lower Court with directions which resulted in a change of the indictment and a sentence of 34 years imprisonment.

A courageous but stupid man who was more than normally corrupted by power, his thoughts may have been turned to the use of force by the example of the three successful Syrian *coups d'état* of 1949.

32. Ali Mahmud Sheikh Ali

Sunni, connected with the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad, 1902. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he practised as a lawyer from 1923 to 1936. An extreme Nationalist, he was arrested both in 1924 and 1930 for violent agitation against Anglo-Iraqi treaties. He was twice elected Deputy.

Appointed judge in the Court of Appeal in 1936 and Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937. Mutasarrif of Basra, 1939; Director-General of Customs, 1940. Again Minister of Justice in Rashid Ali's rebel Cabinet, he fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse but was later surrendered to the British military authorities and interned in Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq, tried and sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 1942.

Released in 1949, he now practises as a lawyer again. It was proposed by Tawfik Suweidi to appoint him to the Court of Cassation in 1950, and his influence appears to be reviving.

33. Ali Muntaz

Born 1901. Sunni of the Daftari family of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad Law College and entered Government service in 1920. Rose to be Director-General of Revenues by 1935, but had to leave Iraq after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* which overthrew the Government of Yasin al Hashemi in 1936. Re-appointed Director-General of Revenues by Nuri Sa'id in 1939.

Minister of Finance under Taha al Hashemi, 1941. Director of Rafidain Bank 1941. Again Minister of Finance under Nuri Sa'id in 1941 and 1943. Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfik Suweidi

in 1946. Minister of Finance under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948 and under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950.

He was a member of the Liberal Party formed in 1946, but resigned in 1948. He is opposed to Saleh Jabr and generally to Nuri Pasha. He gives an impression of sincerity and ability, but when in power does not get very much done, and finds difficulty in co-operating with his Cabinet colleagues. He has been involved in at least one financial scandal.

He is married to a daughter of Yasin al Hashemi and speaks good English.

34. Ali al Sharqi

Shia from Najaf. Born about 1890. Originally a Mullah in Najaf and later Qadhi in Basra and elsewhere, he finally became Head of the Supreme Ja'afari Court. He was made a Senator in 1947 during Saleh Jabr's term of office. Minister without Portfolio in Ali Jawdat's Government of December 1949.

He is of no political importance.

35. Alwan Hussein, C.B.E.

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1899. Educated at the English Protestant School, Bagdad.

He joined the Civil Police in 1917 and did good work during the rebellion in 1920. Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mosul, in 1920. Commissioner of Police Central Criminal Investigation Department, 1924. He went to England in 1930 and attended a Senior Officers' Course at Scotland Yard. He then gradually took over the C.I.D. from the British D.I.G. Removed by Yasin al Hashemi, he returned to the C.I.D. in 1939 when Nuri Sa'id became Prime Minister. Transferred to the provinces by Rashid Ali, he again returned to the C.I.D. after the collapse of Rashid Ali's Government in 1941. Director-General of Police, 1946. He was attacked by the Opposition for the alleged undue severity of police action against the demonstrators during the riots against the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. He lost his nerve under these attacks and suffered a minor nervous breakdown. Appointed Commandant of the Police Training School, May 1948, and transferred to be Director-General of Prisons in December 1948.

A pleasant, friendly and competent official without much personality. He speaks good English. He was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946.

36. Arshad al Umari, K.B.E.

Sunni, born in 1888 of the well-known Umari family of Mosul. Educated in Turkey and employed as Municipal Engineer in Istanbul. He served on the Turkish staff in 1914-18 war.

A member of the first Iraqi Parliament, he later held several official appointments. Mayor of Bagdad from 1931 to 1933, and again from 1936 to 1944, with a short interruption in 1941 when he formed a Committee of Internal Security to conclude an armistice with the British forces after Rashid Ali's flight. He was a successful Mayor and can claim credit for much of such modernisation as Bagdad has achieved.

He represented Iraq at the Arab Unity Congress in Cairo in 1944 which resulted in the formation of the Arab League and in 1945 he led the Iraqi delegation to San Francisco. Minister of Economics and Communications under Ali Jawdat in 1934. Minister of Supply under Hamdi Pachachi in 1944. He was Prime Minister from June to November 1946, and aroused great opposition by his dictatorial methods. He played some part in the political intrigues which resulted in the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty and was Minister of Defence in the Government of Mohammed al Sadr which took over after the Portsmouth riots.

He is president of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society and has done a good deal to improve their finances.

His daughter, Mme. Muntaz al Umari is a leading figure in the Ladies' Committee of this society.

He is generally opposed to Nuri Sa'id, but is liked by the Regent. He has an attractive personality and a capacity for hard work which is rare in an Iraqi, but his rapid changes of opinion, his obstinacy and impatience of criticism make him unfit for politics and he shows signs of realising this. He speaks Turkish and some very bad French. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946.

37. Asim al Naqib, Sayid

Born Bagdad 1879; the fourth son of Sayid Abdul Rahman and younger brother of Sayid Mahmud. Appointed Naqib on the latter's death in 1936. A conventional Sunni Alim, he takes no part in politics but appears as a figurehead on important Islamic occasions.

38. Ata Amin

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1898. Educated at the Bagdad Law School.

Assistant Private Secretary to King Faisal, 1921. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service in 1925 and was appointed to the Iraqi Legation in London. Legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice, 1927. Returned to the Foreign Service in 1928 and held appointments at Ankara, London, Rome, Paris and Berlin between 1932 and 1943. From 1940 to 1943 he was in charge of the Iraqi Legation in London. Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1943; Minister at Ankara, 1944; transferred to Paris, 1949.

He is married to a sister of the Amir Zaid. He speaks good English.

39. Aziz Sherif (Abdul Aziz bin Sherif bin Abdul Majid)

Sunni, born about 1900 in Anah. He began his career as a teacher but later attended the Bagdad Law College and graduated in 1933. At first a judge in Basra and Nasiriya, he was elected Deputy during Bekr Sidqi's régime. He then practised as a lawyer in Basra until 1941, when he was again appointed judge. He resigned his judgeship at the end of 1944 to become an advocate and politician.

His Left-wing tendencies had been known for some time, and during the war years he spread anti-Nazi propaganda with a pro-Russian and anti-British bias. Working at first with Kamil Chadirehi (*q.v.*), he later tried to form a more extreme society but was refused permission, largely because his associates were suspect. Many of these were employed in underground Communist activities and in the publication of secret Communist literature.

In 1945 he first published *Al Watan*, a Left-wing magazine, and in 1946 he was allowed to form the Sha'ab party with himself as first president. The party was closed in 1947 and Aziz fled to Syria. Returning to Iraq early in 1948, he was involved with the "Haqiqi" Communist Group which split from the Iraqi Communist Party.

In late 1948 action was taken against some of his associates and he fled. A warrant was issued for his arrest and his paper *Al Watan* was closed in March 1949. He is still absconding from the police and his present whereabouts are not known.

40. Baba Ali Sheikh Mahmud

Kurd. Born about 1912, second son of the well-known Sheikh Mahmud (*q.v.*). He spent much of his childhood in Persia, when his father was engaged in various rebellions. Educated at the expense of the Iraqi Government at Victoria College, Alexandria, and later in the United States.

He was appointed to a minor post in the railways in 1938, but soon resigned. His outspoken criticism of

Iraqi administration in Kurdish areas led to his arrest and exile for a few months in 1943. A repetition of the offence in 1945 narrowly missed having the same result. He is still a strong critic of the Iraq Government's handling of Kurdish problems.

Minister of Economics under Arshad al Umari in 1946 and in the succeeding Government of Nuri Pasha, Deputy for Sulaimaniya, 1947; lost his seat in 1948.

Baba Ali speaks excellent English and possesses an attractive, though not very forceful, personality. He is interested in the improvement of agriculture in Kurdistan and particularly in the growing and marketing of tobacco. Since 1948 he has spent most of his time in Sulaimaniya and has apparently withdrawn from politics for the time being. He visited America in 1950.

41. Babekr Agha I Selim

A powerful Kurdish chief (recognised by the Iraqi Government as paramount) of the Pizhder tribe of Qal'a Diza on the Lesser Zab north of Sulaimaniya. Now an old man, he has always been friendly in his dealings with the Government, whether British or Iraqi, and he behaved well when Government administration was established in the Pizhder area in 1938.

In 1941 he was preparing to revolt against Rashid Ali's régime, and he has since often affirmed his loyalty to the British connexion. In 1947 he was operated on in the Iraq Petroleum Company hospital at Kirkuk and has since led a quiet life.

His rival for influence in the Pizhder is Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul (*q.v.*).

42. Baha ud Din Nuri

Kurd, born in Bagdad about 1897 of an Erbil family. His father was a well-known Alim. Educated in Bagdad, he joined the Turkish army in 1917 and the Iraqi army in 1921.

In 1924 he was First-Lieutenant Small Arms Instructor and in 1927 he was promoted Captain. Passed Iraqi Staff College, 1930; attended Staff College Camberley, 1935-36. On his return to Iraq he was deeply involved in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* and was thereafter appointed to Operations Branch. Dismissed from the army by Taha al Hashimi in 1938, he became Assistant Traffic Director on the Iraqi State Railways.

In autumn 1941 he rejoined the army as Major-General and was appointed Assistant C.G.S., but was retired again in 1944. He was Acting Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya in 1944 and was elected Deputy for Sulaimaniya in 1947 and 1948. Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Sa'id during 1949.

One of the most capable Staff Officers in the Iraqi army, he suffered twice for his connexion with Bekr Sidqi. He is an intelligent man and a fairly good administrator, but in spite of a frank and engaging demeanour he is not entirely honest or reliable. He is a Freemason and a connoisseur of mystic poetry, but he is also self-seeking. As Minister he was co-operative with the British, but he was widely censured for his continued connexions with a Lebanese firm supplying the Government. He speaks Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and English well.

43. Darwish al Haidari

Born in Bagdad in 1907 of the Haidari family which originated from Erbil. Educated at the American University, Beirut, and at Texas University where he studied agriculture.

Entered Government service, 1930. Director of Rustamiya Experimental Farm, 1933 and of Abu Ghurab Experimental Farm, 1940. Director of Grain in the Local Products Directorate of the Ministry of

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Unfortunately he was extremely corrupt, and during 1949 his ambition grew. He alienated Saleh Jabr (*q.v.*) and mistakenly believed that the Regent's favour would suffice in all circumstances. When in February 1950 Saleh Jabr became Minister of Interior he prevailed on the Regent and the Prime Minister to move Ali Khalid to a northern Mutasarrifiya; and during the night of 11th-12th February Ali, in drunken resentment, made an abortive attempt to use his mobile forces against the Government, was arrested and later condemned to life imprisonment. The Court of Cassation sent the case back to the Lower Court with directions which resulted in a change of the indictment and a sentence of 3½ years imprisonment.

A courageous but stupid man who was more than normally corrupted by power, his thoughts may have been turned to the use of force by the example of the three successful Syrian *coups d'état* of 1949.

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He is of no political importance.

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He is married to a sister of the Amir Zaid. He speaks good English.

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His Left-wing tendencies had been known for some time, and during the war years he spread anti-Nazi propaganda with a pro-Russian and anti-British bias. Working at first with Kamil Chadirehi (*q.v.*), he later tried to form a more extreme society but was refused permission, largely because his associates were suspect. Many of these were employed in underground Communist activities and in the publication of secret Communist literature.

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In late 1948 action was taken against some of his associates and he fled. A warrant was issued for his arrest and his paper *Al Watan* was closed in March 1949. He is still absconding from the police and his present whereabouts are not known.

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In 1941 he was preparing to revolt against Rashid Ali's régime, and he has since often affirmed his loyalty to the British connexion. In 1947 he was operated on in the Iraq Petroleum Company hospital at Kirkuk and has since led a quiet life.

His rival for influence in the Pizhder is Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul (*q.v.*).

42. Baha ud Din Nuri

Kurd. born in Bagdad about 1897 of an Erbil family. His father was a well-known 'Alim. Educated in Bagdad, he joined the Turkish army in 1917 and the Iraqi army in 1921.

In 1924 he was First-Lieutenant Small Arms Instructor and in 1927 he was promoted Captain. Passed Iraqi Staff College, 1930; attended Staff College Camberley, 1935-36. On his return to Iraq he was deeply involved in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* and was thereafter appointed to Operations Branch. Dismissed from the army by Taha al Hashimi in 1938, he became Assistant Traffic Director on the Iraqi State Railways.

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One of the most capable Staff Officers in the Iraqi army, he suffered twice for his connexion with Bekr Sidqi. He is an intelligent man and a fairly good administrator; but in spite of a frank and engaging demeanour he is not entirely honest or reliable. He is a Freemason and a connoisseur of mystic poetry, but he is also self-seeking. As Minister he was co-operative with the British, but he was widely censured for his continued connexions with a Lebanese firm supplying the Government. He speaks Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and English well.

43. Darwish al Haidari

Born in Bagdad in 1907 of the Haidari family which originated from Erbil. Educated at the American University, Beirut, and at Texas University where he studied agriculture.

Entered Government service, 1930. Director of Rustamiya Experimental Farm, 1933 and of Abu Ghuraib Experimental Farm, 1940. Director of Grain in the Local Products Directorate of the Ministry of

the Interior, 1942. Transferred back to the Department of Agriculture after he had been accused of the illegal disposal of a quantity of grain.

He was on the Iraqi delegation to the Hot Springs Food Conference in 1943 and since becoming Director-General of Agriculture in 1946 he has represented Iraq at several international conferences of Food and Agricultural Organisation.

Fat and jovial in appearance, he has a strong personality and much energy, initiative and determination. He is a dictator in his department and his jealousy of any interference has made it difficult for British experts to co-operate with him. On account of his American training he is generally believed to be biased in favour of American machinery and ideas.

He and his wife, who is a sister of Yusuf and Abdul Qadir Gailani, (*q.v.*) speak good English.

44. Daud al Haidari

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1885. Son of a one-time Sheikh al Islam, his family is of Kurdish origin from Erbil. Once an A.D.C. to Sultan Abdul Hamid, he spent the 1914-18 war in Constantinople and came to Bagdad in 1921.

Member for Erbil in the Constituent Assembly in 1924. Minister of Justice under Tawfiq Suweidi, 1929. Deputy for Erbil, 1930-34.

Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1941-42. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said, 1942-43. Minister in London, 1943-45. Appointed Senator in 1945. Minister of Social Affairs in Mohammed al Sadr's Cabinet, January-June 1948.

He was an intermediary when the British Oil Development Company's concession was negotiated and has since been paid a retaining fee by the Basra and Mosul Petroleum Companies, who describe him as their legal adviser, but do not in fact consult him. He resigned from the Senate under a new interpretation of the Constitution in March 1949 rather than give up this fee.

Daud Pasha is a friend of the Regent but is widely distrusted both politically and financially. He was involved in the agitation against the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948.

His two daughters are well known in Bagdad society. He speaks English fairly well.

45. Daud al Sa'udi (Saiyid)

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1890. In the early days of the British occupation he was employed as a teacher. He entered Bagdad Law School in 1922 and became prominent in extreme nationalist politics. In addition to his practice as a lawyer he published a newspaper in the twenties.

Deputy for Hilla, 1935. Deputy for Kut, 1937, and again in 1939. Deputy for Bagdad, 1948. He resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Public Prosecutor for a short time in 1936. He resigned in December after the fall of Yasin al Hashimi, who had appointed him. Banished from Bagdad by Jamil Madfai in December 1938, but returned when Nuri Said became Prime Minister a few weeks later.

He was an active supporter of Rashid Ali in 1941, and fled to Persia after the collapse of the rebel Government. He was handed over to the British forces by the Persian authorities in 1941 and subsequently interned in Rhodesia. In March 1944 he was sent back to Bagdad for trial but obtained his release on medical grounds.

He was a foundation member of the Istiqlal Party in 1946 and was expelled because he undertook the defence of the Jew, Shafiq Ades, who was hanged on treason charges in 1948.

He is reputed to be a good lawyer and his record shows him to be a courageous man, but personally he is unknown to the embassy.

46. Dhia Ja'far

Bagdad Shia, born in 1911. He studied mechanical engineering at Birmingham University, where he obtained a B.Sc. in 1934 and a Ph.D. in 1936, and then had twenty months' training with the Great Western Railway.

Appointed Assistant Mechanical Engineer in the Iraqi State Railways in 1937, he was subsequently promoted to be Mechanical Engineer. During the war he was Director-General of Engineering Supplies.

Deputy for Bagdad in 1947. He failed in the 1948 elections, but was later returned for Kerbala in a by-election.

Minister of Communications and Works under Saleh Jabr in 1947 and of Economics under Nuri Said in 1949 and under Tawfiq Suweidi in 1950. A founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Unity Party, December 1949.

He is well educated and speaks excellent English. He was a successful Minister of Economics, and is a strong supporter of Nuri Said, having close connexions also with Saleh Jabr. He is friendly to the British, and helped to save British property in 1941. The financial reputation of his family is doubtful.

47. Fadhil Jamali

Shia of Kadhima, born 1902. Educated American University, Beirut, 1921-27, and Columbia University 1927-29. Joined the Ministry of Education, 1929. Director-General of Instruction, 1933; Inspector-General of the Ministry, 1937. He visited Germany in 1937 and made arrangements for an Iraqi party to attend the Nuremberg Rally of 1938. Visited England in 1938 at the invitation of the British Council.

He was a founder member of the Muthanna Club, whose members were mostly Western educated nationalists, and whose political thinking was much influenced by national socialism. He strongly resisted British influence in the Ministry of Education and it was British influence which caused his transfer from that Ministry to a position in the Iraqi Embassy in Washington in January 1943. He did not take up this appointment, but became Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1944. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Foreign Minister from June 1946 to January 1948 in the successive Cabinets of Arshad al Umari, Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. During this time he attended the Palestine Conference in London in 1946 and the United Nations General Assembly in 1947. He was out of politics for a time after the failure of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948, but was given a sinecure in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs later in the same year and was appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo in February 1949. He was recalled almost immediately to become Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Pasha in March 1949. He resigned after six months under a constitutional rule, since he had no seat in Parliament, and was appointed Permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation. He was elected Deputy for Diwaniya in the by-elections of June 1950.

Jamali is a self-made man, and is one of the first of the type to reach a prominent position. Although he is ambitious, he is unlikely to get much further. He is not in close touch with the Iraqi political situation and has little political support in his own right.

Jamali is intelligent, energetic and honest, but he is also vain and emotionally unstable. The xenophobic nationalism of his younger days has been greatly modified by his extensive contacts with the West and by a genuine conviction of the necessity for Iraq of the British connexion. But he will never forgive the British policy in Palestine and the Shia

fanatic is not far below the surface.

He is married to a Canadian and has a large circle of British and American friends.

48. Faiq Samarra'i

Sunni, born at Basra about 1904. Educated Bagdad Law College, 1928-32. Appointed a secretary in the Ministry of Justice, 1933; transferred to Tapu Department 1934; Superintendent of Labour, Ministry of Interior, 1935, and attended a Labour Conference at Geneva in 1936. After a further period in the Ministry of Justice, he became Director-General of Press and Propaganda in 1939. After a short period of service in the police and at the Ministry of Social Affairs, he became Director-General of Municipalities in 1940.

An extreme anti-foreign nationalist since his student days, he served a short sentence in 1930 for his part in the demonstrations against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. He was an active supporter of Rashid Ali and was interned from 1941 to 1945 at Fao, where he caused much trouble to the authorities. He was a founder member of the Istiqlal Party in 1946, Secretary-General in 1947 and vice-president 1948 and 1949. Deputy for Samarra 1948, he resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950, but was again elected in the by-elections of June 1950. In 1949 and early 1950 he travelled in Syria and Lebanon for his party to make propaganda for Iraqi-Syrian union.

A grossly fat and unhealthy looking individual with a bad moral reputation, he is nevertheless intelligent, and a persuasive talker. His nationalist views are sincerely held, but are probably subject to modification if it suited his personal ambition. His attitude to Great Britain became slightly less hostile during 1949, possibly owing to the influence of Nuri Pasha who was in that year attempting to split the Istiqlal Party. He is not altogether trusted by his party colleagues. He speaks English.

49. Hamid al Naqib

Sunni of Basra, born about 1890. His brother, the late Sayid Talib Pasha, was strong enough to defy the Turks in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, and was arrested and exiled in 1920 owing to his opposition to King Faisal's coming to Iraq.

Since Sayid Talib's death Sayid Hamid has been the head of the most influential Basra family. He was Deputy from 1930 to 1947, when he was made a Senator.

He is travelled and pleasant, but ponderous. He supports Nuri Said and complains that the Government neglect Basra interests. He speaks some English.

50. Hashim Jawad

Sunni, born Bagdad 1911, the son of a small official. He was educated at the American University, Beirut, and at London University, from which he graduated in Economics in 1936.

He was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council of Ministers in 1936, joined the Iraqi foreign service in 1938 and was sent as Iraqi representative to the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. He returned to Iraq in 1941 and in 1942 became the first Acting Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs. He also acted as Secretary to a committee for the organisation of post-war affairs in Iraq. In his capacity of Director-General of Labour, he took part in the settlement of the Iraq Petroleum Company strike at Kirkuk in 1946. Later in the same year he was removed from his post by Arshad al Umari who regarded him as a fellow-traveller. In 1947 he was appointed to a position in the I.L.O. and has only paid short visits to Iraq since then.

A quiet and studious man with a clear head and a

41016

genuine interest in labour questions, he found the conditions in the Ministry of Social Affairs extremely frustrating and is therefore unlikely to return permanently to Iraq. He is married to a Swiss and speaks excellent English.

51. Hassan Sami Tatar

Turcoman of Kirkuk, born about 1899. His education at the Constantinople Law School was interrupted by the first world war, in which he was taken prisoner by the British forces in Mesopotamia and spent two years in a prisoner-of-war camp in India.

Returning to Iraq after the armistice, he entered the newly founded Bagdad Law College and passed out at the head of the first batch of graduates. He was immediately appointed a judge in Bagdad and thereafter served in the Ministry of Justice and on the Court of Cassation until in February 1950 he became Minister of Justice under Tawfiq al Suweidi.

He is a quiet man with no particular political affiliations. He speaks Arabic and Turkish.

52. Hazim Shemdin Agia

Kurdish chief of the Sharifan tribe of Zakho and son of Yusuf Pasha. Born about 1895. One of the largest landowners of the Zakho district, he is a progressive farmer.

A Deputy from 1925 to 1929 and again from 1938 to 1947, when he was appointed a Senator, he became Minister without Portfolio under Tawfiq Suweidi in February 1950.

Popular and influential in Zakho and well respected throughout Iraq, he is a rich man who has never taken an active part in politics. He was appointed Minister only to fill up the number of Kurds in the Cabinet. He speaks Arabic and Turkish and some English.

53. Hikmat Subhman

Sunni, born 1886. A member of the Constitutional Union Party, he was Director of Education and Assistant Governor of Bagdad under the Turks, and was in Constantinople when the British forces occupied Bagdad in 1917.

Returning to Iraq in 1921 he became Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in 1923 and was Minister of Interior under Abdul Muhsin Sa'dun (1925-26) and again under Rashid Ali Gailani in 1933. He visited Turkey in 1935 and was much impressed with modern Turkish methods.

In 1936 he joined Bekr Sidqi in the *coup d'état* which over-threw Yasin al Hashimi's Government, and became Prime Minister. He resigned in 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi. As Prime Minister he disappointed expectations.

Although apparently reconciled with Nuri Said in 1938, he was arrested and tried by court martial for treason under the latter's premiership in 1939. The death sentence passed on him was commuted to five years' imprisonment, and he was interned in Sulaimaniya. Released by Rashid Ali in April 1941, he was in Persia during Rashid Ali's rebellion.

When he returned to Iraq he devoted himself to farming and prospered. Unpopular with the Regent and Nuri Said, he took little part in politics until 1947, when he was involved in the intrigues which culminated in the fall of Saleh Jabr and the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. Since then he has often been reported to be making contact with discontented army officers and people of the Left, and is generally regarded as the "dark horse" of Iraqi politics; but this impression is probably coloured by his history and is an exaggeration of his present influence.

His wife, a Daghestani, is a sister of the wife of Najib al Rawi (*q.v.*) He speaks Arabic and Turkish only.

54. Hussain Fauzi

Sunni of Kurdish origin, born in Bagdad 1889. Educated Military Academy, Istanbul, and commissioned in the Turkish army in 1909.

He joined the Iraqi army in May 1922. He has passed the Senior Officers' Course at Belgaum, India, and has twice been attached to units in England for training. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1929 and Colonel in 1933. Commandant of the Staff College, Bagdad, 1934. In 1935 he was given the command of the Northern District. Promoted Brigadier 1935 and G.O.C. 1st Infantry Division 1936. He was appointed Chief of the General Staff in August 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi. He took no part in the Bekr Sidqi *coup* of October 1936, but he assisted Tah al Hashimi to organise the military demonstration in favour of Nuri Said in December 1938. Placed on pension in February 1940 for interference in politics.

Although he has been a member of the Central Committee of the National Democratic Party since its inauguration in 1946 he is not prominent in political or social life. He speaks good English.

55. Hussain Jamil

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1906. A member of the Jamil family which has marriage connexions with the Suweidis. His father was a judge. Educated at Bagdad and graduated from the Law College in 1930.

From 1933 to 1946 he served as a judge in a number of provinces including Diyala, Diwaniya, Hilla and Bagdad.

He resigned from the Public Service in 1946 in order to become a founder member of the National Democratic Party; he went into private practice as a lawyer and acted as defence counsel in a number of cases concerned with political offences.

Deputy for Bagdad, 1948. He resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950. Minister of Justice in Ali Jawdat's Cabinet of December 1949 to February 1950.

Hussain is a convinced Democrat and a sincere reformer who is generally respected. He is a poor man and free from suspicion of corruption. He is less intransigent than most of the opposition leaders and is not always in agreement with the leader of his party. He speaks some English and his wife, who appears in mixed society, is fairly fluent.

56. Ibrahim Akif al Alusi

Sunni, born Bagdad, 1894. Graduated from Istanbul Medical College in 1916 and served in Iraq under the Turks.

He later joined the Iraqi Health Service and rose to be Director-General of Public Health in 1939. He was also Secretary-General of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society for some time.

Minister of Education under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-45. Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs in 1946; Minister in Damascus, December 1948; Minister in Ankara, February 1950.

As Minister of Education he was incompetent and prejudiced, and it is generally considered that he was not a success in Damascus. Superficially friendly, he is a born intriguer.

57. Ibrahim Saleh al Kabir

Bagdad Jew, born 1885. Educated at the Alliance School in Bagdad, he entered business in the office of a Jewish merchant who later made him his partner.

Appointed to the Accounts Department of the Ministry of Finance in the early days of the Mandatory Government, he rose by gradual promotion to be Accountant-General, and finally in 1946, Director-General of the Ministry.

In 1946 he gave evidence before the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on Palestine. In

1947 he was chief Iraqi negotiator in the sterling balance talks and earned the respect of the British delegation, and in 1948 he took part in the discussions for the taking over of the Iraq Currency Board. He retired in autumn 1948 and has since lived quietly, spending much of his time in England. He was appointed Honorary O.B.E. in 1946 for war services.

He was a sound civil servant, cautious and trustworthy, highly respected but never very popular. His brothers, Selman and Yusuf, are prominent Bagdad lawyers.

58. Ismail Namiq, K.B.E.

Sunni, born 1892, the son of an army officer of Mosul origin. Educated at the Turkish Military College, he joined the Amir Faisal in 1917.

Gazetted an officer in the Iraqi army in 1921, he attended a course in England about 1926. Commandant of Iraqi Staff College, 1931; Officer Commanding Iraqi Air Force, 1933; Cavalry Brigade, 1936; Third Division, 1937; Director-General of Administration in the Ministry of Defence 1941. Acting C.G.S. November, 1941. He accompanied the Regent to England, 1943.

Minister of Defence in the successive Cabinets of Hamdi Pachachi, Tawfiq Suweidi and Arshad al Umari, 1944 to 1946. Appointed Senator, 1945.

His venality has been the subject of comment, but he is a quiet sensible man with no marked political tendencies. The Regent likes and trusts him. He speaks fair English. Appointed Honorary K.B.E. for war services 1946.

59. Ismail Safwat

Sunni of Mosul, born 1894. In Turkish times he graduated from the Teachers' Training School, and was a teacher in 1914. He was conscripted and served as a warrant officer in Eastern Anatolia during the first world war. In 1919 he joined the Arab army at Deir el Zor and took part in Jamil Madfai's advance on Tel 'Afar in 1920. After the collapse of Faisal's régime in Syria he went to Turkey.

He came to Iraq in 1922 and joined the Iraqi army. He was on Bekr Sidqi's staff at the time of the latter's *coup d'état* in 1936. From 1940 to 1943 he headed the Iraqi Military Mission to the Yemen. After his return to Iraq he held several brigade commands. Director of Military Operations, Ministry of Defence, 1944. Promoted Major-General, 1946.

In October 1947 he presided over the Arab League Military Committee which sat at Aley, Lebanon. Appointed Deputy C.G.S. early in 1948, he was made Commander of the Irregular Arab Army of liberation on the outbreak of hostilities in Palestine in May 1948. He returned to Iraq and was appointed G.O.C., Second Division, Kirkuk, in 1949.

He is a taciturn man with no sense of humour, but he has a reputation for efficiency and for being a good disciplinarian. He is on bad terms with C.G.S. Saleh Salih (q.v.). He has been reported as interested in politics, and he is a close friend and supporter of Jamil Madfai and Ali Jawdat who are also both from Mosul.

60. Ja'far Hamandi

Shia of Kadhimiya, born 1894. Educated in Bagdad and was a school teacher in 1914. After the 1914-18 war, he graduated from the Bagdad Law College and joined the Ministry of Justice. Transferred to Interior in 1939; he served as Qaimmaqam in several districts and as Mutasarrif of Kut in 1936 and 1937.

Minister of Education for a few months under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937; Minister of Social Affairs under Jamil Madfai in 1941. Between these ministerial appointments he returned to Interior and served as Mutasarrif in several liwas. He was appointed Mutasarrif of Bagdad in 1941 and resigned in 1942.

Deputy for Hilla 1943, and for Bagdad 1947, he lost his seat in June 1948, but was again elected in the by-elections of June 1950. He is now president of the Iraqi Bar Association.

Although Saleh Jabr is said to have assisted him to obtain a substantial grant of Government land in Hilla liwa in 1942, he joined the Constitutional *blocc* led by Nasrat al Farisi and strongly opposed the policies of Saleh Jabr's Government in 1947.

He speaks no English.

61. Jalal Baban

Kurd of the Baban family, born 1892. At first an extreme nationalist, he was deported in 1920 but released in 1921. Appointed Qaimmaqam in 1923 and later promoted to be Mutasarrif, he served in the administration until 1932.

Minister of Economics and Communications under Naji Shaukat in 1932, of Defence under Rashid Ali in 1933, and of Education under Jamil Madfai in 1934. Director-General of Finance 1934-35 and 1936-37.

Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Said 1939-40 and under Jamil Madfai in 1941. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in 1943. Senator 1937-43.

Again appointed Minister of Communications and Works under Mohammed al Sadr in January 1948, he managed to retain his portfolio in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi and Nuri Said until November 1949. Deputy for Diyala in the 1948 elections.

No man is better versed than Jalal in the art of government as practised in Iraq. Like his distant cousin Jamal Baban (q.v.), he has been the Kurd in many Governments, though neither he nor Jamal can speak Kurdish nor have any special interest in Kurdistan. A competent but elusive Minister, he is undoubtedly corrupt, but except in 1938 has managed to avoid open scandal.

62. Jamal Baban

A Kurdish lawyer of the Baban family, born 1890. After serving for some time as a judge in Northern Iraq he became Deputy for Erbil in 1928.

Minister of Justice under Nuri Said 1930-32, under Jamil Madfai 1933-34, and under Ali Jawdat 1934-35. In 1935 he joined the party organised by Jamil Madfai to oppose Yasin al Hashimi.

Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1941-42 and of Justice under Saleh Jabr in 1947. Between his ministerial appointments he practised as a lawyer, and was often Deputy. Appointed Senator in July 1947.

Like his relative Jalal Baban (q.v.), he has been almost a professional Kurdish Minister. As Minister under Saleh Jabr he was criticised for venality and for influencing judges. He was Acting Prime Minister during Saleh Jabr's absence in London for the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty, and his handling of the situation caused by the demonstration was inept; but in his defence it must be said that Saleh Jabr had kept him in the dark over the course of the negotiations. He resigned with two other Ministers before Saleh Jabr himself gave up hope, and has not been very active since.

63. Jamil Abdul Wahhab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1910 of a middle-class family. Educated at Bagdad Law College and practised for a short time.

Joined Iraqi Government service in 1933, and was appointed Assistant Magistrate, Bagdad. He was later transferred to Baquba.

Deputy for Diyala in 1939 and Bagdad in 1943 and 1947. He lost his seat in 1948, but became Deputy for Mahmudiya in 1950. A member of the

Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party from its foundation in 1949.

Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1946, and under Saleh Jabr 1947.

His marriage in 1933 to a niece of Nuri Said is the main reason for his political advancement. In spite of this connexion, his attitude during the Rashid Ali rebellion was ambiguous. He is a personal friend of the Regent and Shakir al Wadi, and in April 1949 was selected as Iraqi Minister at Cairo. The Egyptian Government, however, refused the *agreement*. He is reported to have engaged in doubtful land transactions in Hillaliwa and he is said to be dissolute, ambitious and untrustworthy. He speaks a little English.

64. Jamil Madfai

Sunni of Mosul, born about 1886. Educated Istanbul and gazetted an officer in the Turkish Army. He joined the Arab revolt and in 1920 was commanding the Sharifian forces at Deir el Zor. In that year he instigated the murder of the British Political Officer and entered Tel Afar, calling upon the tribes to rise against the British in the name of the Sharif. He retired to Syria when British troops approached from Mosul.

Returned to Iraq in 1923 and served as Mutasarrif in several liwas.

Deputy from 1929 and President of the Chamber from 1932 to 1933; Senator from 1935 to 1945 and again from 1948 onwards. President of the Senate 1943 and 1944 and again from 1948.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha 1930; Prime Minister 1933 and again in 1934 with a different Cabinet. Minister of Defence under Ali Jaudat, August 1934; Prime Minister again for twelve days in March 1935, after which he was forced to resign by an agitation in the Middle Euphrates organised by Yasin Pasha al Hashimi. He refused an invitation to join the Government formed by Hikmat Sulaiman after the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'état* in 1936. He visited the Yemen in the winter of 1936-37 to obtain the Imam's adherence to the Iraqi-Saudi pact of Arab Brotherhood. Became Prime Minister again in August 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi and Hikmat Sulaiman's resignation. He was forced to resign in December 1938 by a military demonstration organised in favour of Nuri Said. He accompanied the Regent on his flight to Palestine during the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 and after its collapse became Prime Minister for a short time. In 1943 at the suggestion of Nuri Pasha, he toured the Arab countries to canvass support for Arab unity. In 1948 after the riots against the Portsmouth Treaty he took the portfolio of Interior under Muhammad as Sadr for a few months. In 1949 he was sent by Nuri Said to various Arab capitals in an attempt to unify Arab policy towards Palestine.

Jamil Madfai is said to have been energetic and resolute in his earlier years. He is popular in most political circles and his influence, which is generally used on the side of moderation, is still considerable, but he is an ageing man, susceptible to the intervention of others and afraid of making enemies. He is unlikely to take any further political part except as a figurehead. His acquisitions of land and commercial interests have made him a rich man. He speaks no English.

65. Jamil al Rawi

Sunni, born about 1892 at Ramadi. He was an officer in the Turkish Army who joined Faisal and served with the Sherrefian forces in the 1914-18 war. He acted as Chief A.D.C. to King Ali and did not return to Iraq until 1926 when Ibn Saud conquered the Hejaz.

Deputy for Dulaim 1928, he was at this time Vice-President of the Tagaddum party of Abdul Muhsin Saadun. Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Pasha 1931.

He was Mutasarrif of Kirkuk in 1932 and of Kut in 1935. Yasin al Hashimi dismissed him in 1936 and his next Government appointment was as Iraqi Charge d'Affaires at Jeddah in 1939. He spent some of the interval in Palestine, interesting himself in the Arab cause. Consul-General at Jerusalem 1941; Minister at Jeddah 1942 to 1945; Director-General of Public Works 1946; Iraqi Minister at Amman 1947.

He speaks a little English and is friendly to the British. He is of no political importance.

66. Jamil al Uriali

Born about 1907, of a long-established Bagdad family. Sunni. Educated at Bagdad Law College, whence he graduated in 1930, and studied for a short time at the London School of Economics. On his return he edited a weekly legal journal. He joined the Iraqi Judicial Service 1933 and served as a Judge in Hilla, Diwaniya, Nasiriya and later as Chief Magistrate and President of the Execution Department, Bagdad.

Deputy for Diyala 1947. Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies 1949. Founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Unity Party, December 1949. Minister without Portfolio in charge of Awaqaf Affairs under Tawfiq Suweidi, 1950.

He is a protégé of Ahmad Mukhtar Baban, without much personal influence.

67. Jamil al Wadi

Bagdad Sunni, born in 1891; elder brother of Shakir al Wadi (q.v.). Educated at the Law School in Constantinople, he was Public Prosecutor in Adana and later, during the First World War, a Legal Adviser in the Turkish Army.

After employment with the Syrian Nationalist Government he returned to Iraq in 1920, entered Government service in 1921 and was appointed a Judge in 1923.

Director of Tapu, 1931; Minister of Justice under Naji Shawkat 1932-33; Director-General of State Domains 1933; Chief Public Prosecutor 1934; Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs 1935; Principal Private Secretary in the Palace 1937; Director-General of Tapu 1938, of Land Settlement 1938-41, and again of Tapu from 1941 to 1945, when he was placed on pension.

Dishonest and corrupt, whilst in office, he has lived quietly in comfort since his retirement.

68. Jebran Malkon

Armenian Catholic, born in Mardin in 1888. Educated in Mardin, he lived in Deir ez Zor from 1906 to 1910 and again took refuge there in 1917 when other members of his family were massacred by the Turks. He was employed in the customs in Deir ez Zor in 1918 and in Bagdad from 1919 to 1920.

After working for some time as clerk in an hotel he found a job with Razzuq Ghannam (q.v.) on the newspaper *Al Iraq*, and in 1929 he went into partnership with Rafail Butti (q.v.) to publish *Al Bilad* and, in 1932, *Al Akhbar*. His association with Butti ended in 1939, and in 1941 he restarted *Al Akhbar* on his own account with Mahmud Abdul Kerim (q.v.) as editor.

An affable man with pro-British sympathies, he refused German offers to publish anti-Jewish articles in 1940 but he is not in a position to resist strong political currents, as was seen after the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty. Nevertheless *Al Akhbar* is

one of the more moderate and reputable Iraqi newspapers, and Jebran, who now owns a press, has done better out of journalism than most Iraqi publishers.

69. Kamil Chaderchi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1901. Half-brother of Raouf Chaderchi (q.v.). His father was exiled in 1920 and he accompanied him to Istanbul where he studied medicine for a year.

On returning to Iraq he studied law and graduated from the Bagdad Law College in about 1925, when he was appointed to a minor position in the Ministry of Finance. Became Private Secretary to Yasin al Hashimi in 1929, and left official employment soon after to edit *Al Ikha al Watani*, the organ of Yasin Pash's party of that name. In the early 30's he was associated with the Ahali group with Mohammed Hadid, Abdul Fettah Ibrahim and Abdul Qadir Ismail and started the newspaper *Sant al Ahali*, which has continued with some interruption and changes of name ever since. He was convicted under the Press Law in 1934 and arrested in the same year for publishing pamphlets against King Ghazi but released for lack of evidence.

The Ahali group was privy to the Bekr Sidqi coup d'Etat against Yasin al Hashimi in 1936 and Kamil became Minister of Economics and Commerce in the Cabinet formed by Hikmet Sulaiman. He resigned in June 1937 because of the increasing influence of the Army. He later formed the Democratic Party with Mohammed Hadid, Majid Mustafa and Hikmet Sulaiman which had little success. He refused to enter Nuri Said's Cabinet in 1943. In 1946 he formed the National Democratic Party, which voluntarily suspended activity in 1948, but resumed in 1950. Both in 1946 and 1947 he was prosecuted on Press Law charges.

Kamil is a muddle-headed idealist who holds progressive social democratic views with complete sincerity, but he is incapable of translating these views into a consistent policy suitable to Iraqi conditions. The poor success of the National Democratic Party is largely due to his lack of leadership and organising ability. He is an unrelenting opponent of Nuri Said.

Formerly a rich landlord, he has now sold much of his land and is no longer wealthy. He speaks very little English.

70. Khalil Ismail

Bagdad Sunni, of an obscure family of Indian origin. Born 1903. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he held various positions in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1932.

Secretary of the Cabinet 1932-35. Appointed Director-General of Interior 1935; of Education 1936; for Foreign Affairs 1937. Mutasarrif of Amara 1937-38.

Appointed Director-General of Interior 1938; of Awaqaf 1940; of Census 1941; of Revenues 1942; of Finance 1943; and of Customs and Excise 1945.

In November 1948 he was made Under-Secretary in charge of the Ministry of Finance during Muzahim al Pachachi's Government. In January 1949 he became Minister of Finance under Nuri Said and held this post until the whole Cabinet resigned in autumn 1949. He became Deputy for Amara in a by-election in March 1949.

A competent though ponderous official of the old school. While Minister of Finance he gave the appearance of being friendly and co-operative, but his habit of distorting facts was apt to lead to difficulties. Both during and after his period of office he was widely accused of corruption on a large scale. Speaks excellent English and prides himself on his legal knowledge.

71. Khalil Kaona

Sunni, born in Felluja about 1905. His family is of Turkoman origin. Educated at the American University of Beirut, and the Bagdad Law College, he entered Government service in 1933 and worked mainly in the Ministry of Communications and Works until 1941, when he supported Rashid Ali Gailani's coup d'Etat and was consequently interned.

In 1946 he was a founder-member of the Istiqlal Party, but he resigned from the Party with a flourish in 1947 and married a daughter of Ali Ridha al Askeri, thus becoming a relative of Nuri Said. Elected Deputy for the Dulaim in 1947, he was not returned in the 1948 elections. Deputy for Dulaim in by-elections of June 1950.

In January 1949 he started the newspaper *Al Ahd*, which is Nuri Said's mouthpiece. In December 1949 he became a founder-member of Nuri's Constitutional Union Party and was elected to its Central Committee.

Appointed Minister without Portfolio in Tawfiq Suweidi's Government in February 1950 to supervise press and propaganda affairs.

A creature of Nuri Said, he has little personal influence. He speaks some English.

72. Mahmud Abdul Kerim

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1908 of an obscure family. Educated at a Bagdad secondary school, he joined the Ministry of Finance in 1927 as a clerk and protégé of Ibrahim Kemal, then Director-General of the Ministry.

In 1936 he followed Ibrahim Kemal to the Royal Bilat and in 1938 to Customs, from which he resigned with Kemal and worked as a commission agent.

In 1941 he became Arabic editor of the *Iraq Times* and later in the year editor of *Al Akhbar*, owned by Jebran Malkon (q.v.). In 1945 he himself started a daily called *Al Diyar* which failed and ceased to appear in 1946.

He has been Reuter's correspondent in Iraq since 1945 and is also a correspondent of the *Iraq Times*. He visited England in 1945 with the Iraqi press delegation, and in 1946 as press attaché to the Iraqi delegation to U.N.O. He is generally a competent journalist but is sometimes careless in checking his facts. He has taken no active part in politics.

He speaks English well, and in 1946 married a London solicitor's daughter.

73. Mahmud Agha Hajji Rasul

A Kurdish chief of the Pizhder tribe of Qal'a Diza, born about 1900. He is leader of that faction of the Pizhder which in strength and local influence among the Pizhder and neighbouring tribes rivals the faction led by Babekr Agha (q.v.). The Iraqi Government have not recognised his claim to paramount leadership of the Pizhder.

An active and intelligent man, he has been accused by Babekr Agha of having contact with Communists in Azerbaijan, but there is no proof of this. He professes loyalty to the British connexion.

74. Mahmud Agha Zibari

Kurdish chieftain of the Zibari tribe east of Amadia, born about 1895. At first a supporter of Mulla Mustafa (q.v.), who married his daughter, he was bribed with money and rifles by Mustafa al Umari (q.v.), then Minister of Interior, and took the Government side against Mulla Mustafa in 1945.

Since then the Central Government have appeased him. He was elected Deputy in 1947 and 1948 and was awarded the Order of the Rafidin Class IV. Nevertheless he has continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the administrative authorities, and his neighbours fear and hate him for his rapine. He is a

ruffian and brigand, but he has influence in tribal circles and cannot be ignored.

75. Mahmud I Sheikh Said; Sheikh

Kurd of the family of Barzinja Sayyids. Born 1884. He inherited from his father considerable religious and tribal influence and a tradition of opposition to central authority. In Ottoman times he was notorious for his oppression and rapacity.

He was appointed Hukumdar of Sulaimaniya and given British advisers in December 1918. In June 1919 he attempted to throw off British control but was defeated, wounded and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted and he was imprisoned in India. He was again appointed Hukumdar in August 1922 but soon began to try to extend his personal power. He was summoned to Bagdad in February 1923 but took to the mountains with his personal following and remained an embarrassment to the authorities until his surrender in 1930. From 1931 to 1941 he was in forced residence at Nasiriya, Ramadi and Bagdad.

In 1941 he escaped to Kurdistan and prepared to oppose Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Government by force. Since the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion he has lived in semi-retirement at Dari Kella in Barsian near Sulaimaniya.

He is still very influential in Sulaimaniya and causes the local authorities some trouble. He hates all Arabs and holds the Bagdad Government in contempt. He has three sons, Raouf, Baba Ali (q.v.) and Latif. He speaks Turkish and Arabic in addition to Kurdish.

76. Mahmud Subhi Daffari

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1890 at Kerbala, where his father was Public Prosecutor. He received his primary education in Bagdad and was a school teacher for a short time. He entered Bagdad Law School, 1909 and completed his studies in Istanbul where his father was transferred about 1910. He remained in Istanbul until 1921 and acquired some small reputation as a writer in literary periodicals.

Legal adviser to the Bagdad Municipality 1921-22; Deputy 1925; Amin al Asima 1930 and again in 1933. Principal of the Law School 1931; Director-General of Tapu 1932; Senator 1937 to 1944.

Minister of Justice under Nuri Said December 1938 to February 1940; Minister for Foreign Affairs also under Nuri 1943.

Mahmud Subhi is well-off, owning land on the Tigris in Azizieh Nahiya as well as house property in Bagdad. The nationalism of his youth has worn off and he is now out of politics and friends with everyone. He much enjoys social life and the sound of his own voice. He speaks Turkish and some French.

77. Mahrut al Hadhdhal, Sheikh

Sunni Arab, born about 1896. In 1927 he succeeded his famous father, Fahad Beg, as chief of the Amarat (Anaiza) tribe, beduin of the south-western desert of Iraq.

His father was uncompromisingly pro-British, but Mahrut has tried to maintain good relations with the Iraqi Government also. He is not highly respected in Bagdad, however.

In 1940 he contracted for the supply of labour on the Haifa-Bagdad road, but during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941 some of his tribesmen got out of control and looted the road camps. During the war he engaged in profitable smuggling, particularly of arms, from Palestine.

His Razaza estate, west of Kerbala, was expropriated for the Abu Dibis reservoir in 1944-45, and out of the high compensation he received Mahrut has since bought other estates near Kerbala.

Justly proud of his pedigree, Mahru has more of the avarice than of the generosity characteristic of the beduin. Intensely hated in Shi'ite Kerbala, he is often held up by Iraqis as an example of the poor son of a fine father. He respects the British.

78. Majid Mustafa

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born about 1895. An officer in the Turkish Army during the First World War, he remained pro-Turkish for some time and later became an active supporter of Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.).

Appointed Mudir Nahiya 1927; Qaimmaqam 1928-35; Mutassarif 1935-41; he was an able administrator.

His attitude during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941 was equivocal, and he forfeited the trust of both sides. On the Regent's return to Bagdad he was suspended for four years for having complied with Rashid Ali's orders.

Nevertheless in December 1943 the Regent reluctantly agreed to his appointment as Minister without Portfolio to advise on Kurdish affairs in Nuri Said's Government. He achieved a peaceful settlement with Mulla Mustafa of Barzan in January 1944, but resigned with the whole Cabinet in June 1944.

Majid then went into business and has prospered. His wide interests include a marble quarry near Rowanduz and he has recently been enquiring into the possibility of getting British financial backing for a scheme to develop the mineral resources of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Able and intelligent, Majid is still influential in Northern Iraq, but he shows no signs of wishing to return to politics.

79. Mar Shimun

Eshai Mar Shimun XXIstrd, Patriarch of the Assyrians. Born about 1909, he succeeded to the patriarchate in 1920 when a child. Educated in England at a seminary in Canterbury.

After his return to Iraq he inspired the mutiny of the Assyrian Levies in 1932 and the exodus of the Assyrians to Syria in 1933 which precipitated the massacres in Mosul liwa of that year. He was deported in 1933 and given asylum in Cyprus. He spent the next seven years in Europe, mostly in England and Geneva, trying to obtain assistance for his people. Granted British naturalisation in 1939 and went to Cyprus, but in 1940 he went to America and has since been living in Chicago, taking a full part in intrigues which split the Assyrians both inside and outside Iraq.

Mar Shimun's aim was to establish the whole Assyrian community in a compact enclave under his own spiritual and temporal authority. His political inexperience and overweening ambitions caused his people much needless suffering.

80. Maulud Mukhlis

Sunni, born about 1880. He served with gallantry in the Sherifian army and was badly wounded.

He returned to Bagdad in 1921, after serving in Syria, and joined the extreme Nationalists. As no post could be found for him in the Iraq Army he was given the Al Hamra estate near Tokrit and settled down to cultivate it.

He was Mutassarif of Kerbala in 1923. Since 1925 he has been a Senator most of the time, and still is; but he was President of the Chamber of Deputies from 1937 to 1941. He was bitterly hostile to Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'Etat* of 1936 and to the succeeding Government of Hikmat Sulaiman, and an attempt was made to assassinate him early in 1937. Bekr Sidqi's aides-de-camp were suspected.

Formerly an impulsive nationalist with pan-Arab sentiments, Maulud has in recent years become an habitual drunkard. He has little influence left.

81. Muaffaq al Alusi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1894. Educated in France, he returned to Bagdad in 1926.

Professor at the Law School 1926. Director-General Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1928. He withdrew to Beirut after a quarrel with the Minister Abdullah Damitaji (q.v.) in 1930. He accompanied Nuri Said to Mecca to negotiate the Iraqi-Nejd Bon Voisinage agreement in 1931. Became Judicial Adviser to Ibn Saud 1932. Returned to Bagdad 1933 and held positions in the Iraqi Foreign Service at Tehran, Beirut and Bombay. He was dismissed from the Foreign Service in 1937, reinstated in 1939 and served at Paris, Damascus and Istanbul. He was recalled in November 1941 and again dismissed in 1943. Since then Ibn Saud has befriended him and used him on occasion. In 1949 he sent him to Syria to intrigue against Iraqi-Syrian union.

Muaffaq is a unprincipled adventurer. He drinks heavily and his habits are unsavoury.

82. Mudhafur Ahmad

Sunni, born in Hilla in 1899. Educated in Bagdad, he was an officer in the Turkish army.

Gazetted Assistant Commandant of Police in 1921, he was promoted Commandant in 1932. After a course at the Birmingham City Police School he was appointed principal of the Inspectors' Training School and thereafter held several appointments on the headquarters staff of the police. As Director of the C.I.D. after Rashid Ali's rebellion he enforced energetic anti-Nazi measures. His reputation in the police was high.

Director-General of Civil Defence 1941-43; Mutassarif of Ramadi 1943; Basra 1944-45; Mosul 1946; Bagdad 1946-48. He was allotted some of the blame for police action against the January 1948 demonstrations and was removed to the Administrative Inspectorate in March 1948. He was appointed Mayor of Bagdad in 1949, and in 1950 refused the Directorate-General of Police in succession to Ali Hejazi (q.v.).

Appointed Honorary O.B.E. for war services 1946.

He is a polished and popular man, a keen sportsman, and a reliable official. To the British he is friendly and co-operative. He is related through his mother to Nuri Said and to the Askari family, and his wife, who appears in public, is a Partow. He and his wife speak good English and Turkish and some French.

83. Mohammed Ali Mahmud

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1895. Educated Bagdad Law School and employed in the Ministry of Justice, in which he rose to become Director-General. He also held post of Director-General Tapu and in 1935 was a member of the Court of Cassation.

Deputy for Diyala in the Parliament of 1935 and for Erbil in those of 1936 and 1937. Minister of Finance in Hikmat Sulaiman's re-formed Cabinet of 1937.

He was Minister of Communications and Works in Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Cabinet of April 1941. On its collapse he fled to Persia but was handed over to the British in September 1941. He was interned in Rhodesia and sent back to Iraq in 1944, where he was tried and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but released in 1947.

His daughter is married to a son of Ja'far al Askari and probably because of this connexion he joined Nuri Pasha's constitutional party in 1949.

He has only just emerged into social life. He appears to be an intelligent and reasonable man and to be feeling his way carefully back into politics. He speaks no English.

84. Mohammed Hassan Kubba

Shia of Bagdad, born 1891 and educated locally. In 1913 he became a teacher of Arabic at the German School in Bagdad. After the occupation he set up in commerce in a small way. He entered the Law School in 1920 and as a student was associated with the nationalist activities of Jafar Abu Timman. He graduated in 1923 and joined Government service. Judge at Suwaira 1927, at Kadhimain 1931; legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice 1938.

Deputy 1944 and President of the Chamber 1947. Senator from July 1947 and Vice-President of the Senate December 1947. Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1943, he retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Hamdi Pachachi, but resigned to become President of the Chamber. Minister of Justice under Arshad al Umari 1946 and again in 1948 under Muzahim al Pachachi. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said January 1949.

A weak individual who would never have become a Minister had he been born a Sunni. He wished to resign from Arshad's Cabinet in 1946 owing to the Prime Minister's interference with the courts, but a word from the Regent restrained him. He is pleasant and friendly and proud of his erudition in Shariya law. He speaks no English.

85. Muhammad Hussain Hadid

Sunni, born 1906 of a merchant family of Mosul. Educated at American University, Beirut, 1924 to 1928, and London School of Economics 1928 to 1931.

Employed in the Ministry of Finance 1931 to 1937; Deputy for Mosul 1937; Minister of Supply under Nuri Pasha in 1946, he resigned from this Government in protest against Government interference in the elections.

He was a prominent member of the so-called Ahali Group in the first half of the 1930's. This group advocated a mild form of socialism. Some of its members later became communists. In the later '30s he was associated with Kamil Chaderchi's Democratic Party and was one of the founder members of the National Democratic Party in 1946. He is Vice-President of this party which suspended activity in 1948 but resumed in 1950. He resigned his seat in the Chamber in 1950 with the rest of the opposition deputies in protest against the intolerance of the Government and of Nuri Said's majority party.

Apart from his political activities, he has large business interests and is a partner with Kamil Khedairi in a flourishing soap business which exports to India and Egypt.

Mohammed Hadid is an intelligent and sincere democrat, an effective speaker and a persuasive writer, but he has not made the intellectual effort required to transform the ideas he learned at the London School of Economics into a suitable policy for Iraq. Until this is done he and his kind are likely to remain in sterile opposition. Although a nationalist and an outspoken critic of British influence in Iraq, he is friendly to us and has a number of British friends. He speaks excellent English.

86. Muhammad Hussain al Kashif al Ghita

The most important Arab Shia mujtahid of Najaf. Born between 1880 and 1890 of a large family of Najaf, he was educated in the religious schools of Najaf, and is said to be very learned in Shi'ite law and theology. He has published a popular book on the origins and doctrine of the Shia.

He was Iraqi delegate to the Moslem Conference at Jerusalem in 1931, and has since visited Persia. In 1935 he played a prominent part in the Euphrates tribal insurrections against Yamin al Hashimi's Government, hoping thereby to secure for the Shia a greater share in the Government of Iraq. After the

defeat of the tribes he withdrew to the silence of Najaf.

Suspected in 1939 of accepting money from the German Legation to foster anti-British feeling, he issued a fatwa against the British during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941, but recanted after Rashid Ali's defeat and managed to rehabilitate himself very quickly. His nephew Ahmad was, however, interned from 1941 to 1944.

Honoured by all Iraqi Shias, Sheikh Muhammad Hussain still has some influence with the tribes of Southern Iraq. A foxy, inscrutable man and a born intriguer, he maintains relations with several Shi'ite politicians. He hates Communist Russia, but will never forgive the British for their policy in Palestine.

87. Muhammad Mahdi Kubba

Born about 1900 of the well-known Bagdad Shia family of Kubba, he was educated in the religious seminary at Najaf in Grammar, Persian and theology.

After the First World War he engaged in quite a humble way in the textile trade in common with other members of his family. He never held Government office of any kind until 1948, although he was once a Deputy for Bagdad in 1937.

He was a member of the Nationalist Muthanna Club from its foundation and was helped into politics by a fellow member Dr. Jamali (q.v.). He developed pro-Axis sympathies during a visit to Germany in the late 30's but took no active part in the Rashid Ali movement.

He was made president of the Istiqlal Party on its formation in 1946, probably owing to his Shia origin, well-known name, and clean record. His voice in its councils is less effective than those of Faiq Samarra'i and Siddiq Shenshal.

Minister of Supply in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948, he resigned in June over the conduct of the elections. However, he became Deputy for Bagdad in these elections, but resigned his seat in protest, in common with the rest of the opposition, in March 1950. He was re-elected in the by-elections in June.

An untidy looking man, he has a reputation for sobriety and honesty. His enemies accuse him of folly rather than knavery. Intelligent, but not politically astute, he only speaks Arabic and Persian. He is a strong opponent of British "imperialism."

88. Mohammed Ridha Shabibi

Shia of Nejaf, born 1889. Educated in the religious schools of Nejaf. In 1908 he began to publish poetry in the Egyptian periodical press and acquired a reputation as a literary man. He played some part in the nationalist disturbances in Nejaf during the occupation. In 1919 he was sent to the Hejaz by some Iraqi nationalists to offer the Iraqi throne to the Amir Abdullah; thence he went to Syria and did not return to Bagdad until 1921.

He was a member of the Constituent Assembly and was Deputy for Bagdad in most Iraqi Parliaments until 1935. Senator from 1935 to 1943 and President of the Senate for a few months in 1937. He returned to the Lower House in 1943 and was its President in 1943-44. He resigned from Parliament with the Opposition deputies in March 1950.

Minister for Education under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924, he resigned from this Government with Rashid Ali Gailani over the Turkish Petroleum Company concession. Again Minister for Education in 1935 under Yasin al Hashimi, under Jamil Madhni in 1937 and 1941, and under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948.

A genial old bigot whose views on education are strongly reactionary. Politically he is allied with Nasrat al Farisi (q.v.), and bitterly opposed to Nuri

Pasha and Saleh Jabr. He is a strong critic of British influence in Iraq, but he is personally friendly to Englishmen. He speaks no English.

89. Muhammad al Sadr (Sayid)

Shia of Kadhima, born about 1885. Educated in religious circles at Kadhima.

He was a strong nationalist in the early days of the British occupation and took an active part in the insurrection of 1920. He fled to Syria after its suppression and returned with King Faisal in June 1921.

Appointed Senator in 1925. He was president of the Senate from 1929 to 1937 and again after a short interval from 1937 to 1943. He has several times been a member of the Regency Council during the Regent's absences from Iraq. Prime Minister January to June 1948.

Muhammad al Sadr's political importance is due to his religious prestige and his nationalist past. For these reasons he is always consulted at moments of crisis but his weakness, ignorance and incapacity were amply proved by his total failure as Prime Minister to restore normal conditions after the disturbances in Bagdad which removed Saleh Jabr and secured the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948.

90. Muhammed Salim al Radhi

Sunni, born Bagdad 1899. He was educated in Bagdad, the American University of Beirut and the Universities of California and Texas, from which he obtained doctorates in Agriculture and Science. Returning to Iraq in 1926 he joined the Department of Agriculture, in which he eventually became, and remained for several years, Director-General.

Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1946. Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1947-49. Appointed first Iraqi Minister to India, July 1949.

He is a landowner and is connected with the wealthy Shabandar family. His reputation in the Department of Agriculture was good, but as Minister in Tehran he was not popular with the Persians. Iraqi Shias accuse him of being a fanatical Sunni. He and his attractive wife both speak English well.

91. Mulla Mustafa

Kurdish chieftain of Barzan, born about 1898. Younger brother of Ahmad of Barzan (q.v.).

He was the fighting leader of the Barzanis in the troubles of 1931-32, surrendered with Sheikh Ahmad in 1933, and was banished to Sulaimaniya, where he lived for ten years in poverty on a small allowance from the Government.

In 1943 he escaped to Barzan, where he soon became involved in skirmishes with the Iraqi police. At first concerned only with his own position, he later began to pose as a champion of Kurdish nationalism and won much Kurdish sympathy and support. He resisted successfully the forces of police and troops sent against him. In January 1944, a settlement was arranged, and he visited Bagdad to make submission to the Regent. Returning to Barzan, he remained restless, but was formally pardoned in April 1945, when the Iraqi Government announced a programme for improving security and developing agriculture in the Barzan area.

Becoming impatient, he again took up arms against the Government in August 1945. Large Iraqi forces and clever bribery administered by Mustafa al Umari (q.v.) eventually defeated the Barzanis, and he and his brother Ahmed fled to Persia, where they were well received by the Russian authorities.

After the collapse of the Persian Kurdish independence movement led by Qazi Muhammed, Mulla Mustafa and his brother retired before the Persian forces and entered Iraq in May 1947. Sheikh Ahmad surrendered to the Iraqi Government but Mulla Mustafa refused unconditional surrender and

managed to escape with a few hundred men through Turkey and Azerbaijan into the Soviet Union.

At first welcomed by the Russian authorities, but now, it is said, despised, the Mulla remains in the U.S.S.R. Popular fear of his eventual return keeps his name alive in Iraq.

92. Musa Shabandar

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1899, the son of a wealthy landowner. His brother Ibrahim is a prominent Bagdad merchant. Educated in Bagdad and in Switzerland, he was in Europe from 1918 to 1932, mostly in Switzerland and Germany.

Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service, 1932; Secretary of Iraqi delegation to the League of Nations, 1933; First Secretary, Berlin, 1935. In 1937 he was accused of giving certificates of export to Iraq for munitions destined for Spain. He was recalled and arrested, but proceedings against him were dropped.

Deputy for Amara 1937 to 1939.

Re-appointed to the Foreign Service 1939 and sent to Berlin as chargé d'affaires. Assistant Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, October 1939. Minister for Foreign Affairs in the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali in April 1941. He fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse, but was caught and interned in Rhodesia and later sent back to Iraq for trial. He was sentenced in 1944 to five years' imprisonment and sequestration of property. Owing to ill-health he did not serve all his sentence.

He has been free since 1947 and in 1949 he joined Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party and was appointed Minister at Damascus.

Musa Shabandar is not a strong personality. He is intelligent and accommodating, an official rather than a politician. He is married to a Lebanese and speaks English, French and German.

93. Mustafa al Umari

Sunni of the Umari family of Mosul. Born in 1893 and educated at the Bagdad Law School, he served as an officer in the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia in the first world war and was taken prisoner.

He entered Government service at the end of the war, served as Qaimmaqam and Mutasarrif in several districts and also held the posts of Accountant-General and Director-General of Interior.

He was Minister of Interior under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937; under Jamil Madfai, 1937-38 and in 1941; under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-46 and under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948. He has also been Minister of Justice under Madfai in late 1938, of Economics under Muhammad al Sadr, January-June 1948 (Acting Interior from March 1948 onwards), and without Portfolio under Muzahim at the end of 1948. He has been a Senator since 1937.

Of all Iraqi politicians and officials Mustafa is probably the most notorious for corruption. He is also one of the most capable administrators and most astute politicians in the country. He may be said to exhibit the best and the worst features of the Ottoman idea of Government. His administration during 1945 and his conduct of the 1948 elections aroused severe criticism, but he served his country well during the Barzani troubles of 1945, when his well-directed bribery was of great assistance to the Iraqi forces operating against Mulla Mustafa.

94. Muzahim Amin al Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at the Law School in Bagdad and graduated in 1912. Before the 1914 war he was a strong Arab nationalist. He wrote for Arab nationalist papers and had to flee to Basra in 1913 to escape arrest. After the war he was employed as a magistrate by the occupation authorities in Basra and returned to Bagdad in 1922.

He joined Government service in March 1923 and became Minister of Communications and Works

under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924. In 1927 he was sent to London as Iraqi Diplomatic Agent, returning in 1928. Minister of Economics and Communications under Nuri Pasha, January 1931, and almost immediately after Minister of Interior in the same Government. He resigned in October 1931 because of differences with his colleagues over his dismissal of the Amin al Asima, Mahmud Subhi Daftari. In May 1932 he was charged with complicity in the circulation of scurrilous letters about the King. He was tried and acquitted in October 1932.

Iraqi Minister at Rome and Permanent Iraqi delegate at Geneva, 1934; Minister at Paris, 1939; he remained there as Minister to the Vichy Government and did not return when Iraq broke off relations in November 1941 but went instead to Rome. In 1944 he went to Geneva and sought facilities to return to Iraq, which were refused. He eventually returned in November 1945.

Prime Minister, June 1948 to January 1949; deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950. He was appointed Senator in 1948 but the appointment was held to be constitutionally invalid by a High Court in 1950. He left Iraq for Egypt and Saudi Arabia just before the issue of this decision. The Regent is unlikely to agree to his early return to office.

Muzahim's character presents some contradiction. He is a strong nationalist and resents "imperialism" deeply, but he has been much influenced by the Social Democratic ideas which he has encountered during his prolonged residence in Western Europe. He is often reasonable, but can be stupidly obstinate. Politically courageous at times, at others he gives up without a struggle. His ideas on general policy are sensible, but as a political tactician he is inept. He hates Nuri Pasha and strongly resents his influence with the Regent. This has led him to criticise the latter indiscreetly on occasion. He is very deaf, but speaks good English.

95. Nadhif Shawi

Sunni, originally of the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad 1887. Educated at the Military College, Istanbul, and gazetted an officer in the Turkish army in 1909. He served in Syria in the Turkish Coastal Defence forces throughout the first world war. Afterwards he joined King Faisal's army in Syria and fought against the French at Maisaloun in 1920.

After the expulsion of Faisal from Syria he returned to Bagdad and for some years was a secondary school teacher. During this period he graduated from the Bagdad Law School.

He joined the Iraqi army in 1927. In 1935 he attended army manoeuvres in England, and on his return was given command of the Iraqi Staff College. Brigadier and Assistant C.G.S., 1937; retired, 1939.

Minister of Defence under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Deputy for Dulaim, 1943 to 1947. He was described as a pleasant but colourless Minister, and he has taken no active part in politics for several years.

96. Nadim Shakir al Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1914. Nephew of the late Hamdi Pachachi and of Muzahim Pachachi (q.v.). Educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and London University.

Returned to Bagdad in 1938 and was appointed to the Ministry of Economics in which he rose to be Director-General by 1944.

He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations in 1946 and visited London and America in 1948 to try to obtain support for the proposed Iraqi Oil Refinery at Baiji. In 1950 he quarrelled with his Minister, Dhia Jaafar and tendered his resignation.

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Nadim has not a very strong personality but he is an exceptionally intelligent and competent official whose rapid rise was not entirely due to the influence of his family. He is friendly and co-operative and has up to the present shown no signs of wishing to enter politics. In addition to his official position he is a landowner and farmer on a large scale. He divorced his first wife (a Pachachi) in 1947 in order to marry a cabaret artiste. He speaks excellent English.

97. Dr. Naji al Asil

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1895. A graduate of the Constantinople Medical School in Ottoman times, he first became prominent in 1922 as semi-official Hashimite representative in London. After Ibn Saud's conquest of the Hejaz he became destitute and was deported to Iraq in 1925.

Employed in the Iraqi Military Medical Service from 1926, he was appointed Iraqi Consul-General and chargé d'affaires in Jidda in 1931 and transferred to Mohammerah in 1932. Acting Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1933-34; Counsellor in Tehran 1935; Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1936.

Minister for Foreign Affairs under Hikmat Sulaiman 1936-37, he went into retirement after that Cabinet's resignation until 1944, when he was appointed Director-General of Antiquities. Appointed permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation by the Sadr Cabinet in February 1948, he was recalled in June 1948 and returned to the Antiquities Department.

A polished and intelligent but ponderous man, he is not now on close terms with the leading politicians. He began well in the Antiquities Department but later his work was affected by his personal financial difficulties. He speaks English well.

98. Naji Shaokat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1891, brother of Sani Shaokat (q.v.). Educated Istanbul and became a reserve officer in the Turkish Army. Joined the Arab revolt at Aqaba in 1916.

He returned to Bagdad in 1919 and from 1921 to 1928 was Mutasarrif of various southern liwas, ending with Bagdad 1924-28.

He first became a Deputy in 1929; Minister of Interior under Abdul Musin Saadun in 1928 and again in 1929; Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1930-31; Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1931; Prime Minister 1932; Minister of Interior under Jamil Madfai 1933; again Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1934. In this capacity he accompanied Tauliq Rustu Aras, the then Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on an official visit to Iraq in 1937. He was then offered a portfolio in the Government of Hikmat Sulaiman, but declined because of his objection to Bekr Sidqi's influence. Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1938, but resigned in April 1939. Minister of Justice under Rashid Ali March 1940.

After the collapse of France he became a strong advocate of reinsuring with the Axis and, with Rashid Ali's approval, he went to Istanbul in September 1940 to establish contact with the German Ambassador, Herr von Papen. He resigned from the Government in January 1941, but became Minister of Defence in the unconstitutional cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May he went to Turkey to try to enlist Turkish support for Rashid Ali's cause, and remained in Turkey after the collapse of the rebellion. He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. He spent the war years between Berlin and Rome, receiving a Minister's salary from the Reich Government. In the summer of 1945 he was arrested in Italy, sent back to Iraq and imprisoned.

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He was pardoned by the Regent in May 1948, but has not yet returned to social or political life.

99. Najib al Rawi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1898; brother of Ahmed al Rawi (q.v.). Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he worked for a short time as a clerk in the Revenue Department under the British Administration. He has a large practice as a lawyer and was President of the Lawyers' Association in 1942 and again in 1947.

He entered politics as a protégé of Nuri Said in 1930 and was Deputy for Dulaim in the Parliaments of 1930, 1934, 1937, 1943, 1947 and 1948. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Minister of Education under Tawfiq Suweidi 1946; Minister of Justice under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948; Minister of Education in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi, Nuri Said and Ali Jaudat, June 1948 to February 1950. He represented Iraq at the Paris Session of U.N.O. in September, 1948.

Sleek and mondain, he is prominent in social life in Bagdad. Politically he is a trimmer and has a foot in several camps, though he is generally regarded as primarily a Palace man. He is friendly to the British connexion but is not altogether trustworthy. He is married to one of the Daghestani sisters and speaks a little English.

100. Nasrat al Farisi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1890. Educated Bagdad Law School.

He was conscripted for the Turkish Army before he had graduated, and served as a warrant officer during the 1914-18 war in which he saw service against the Russians at Hamadan and against the British at Kut.

After the war he completed his legal studies in Istanbul and returned to Bagdad about 1922.

He served for several years in the twenties as legal draughtsman in the Ministry of Justice.

First Deputy for Bagdad in 1926 and again in 1932, and in most of the Iraqi Parliaments since then. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1935. Iraqi delegate at Geneva 1937 to 1938. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in April 1943 but did not proceed. In 1945 he was a member of the Iraqi delegation at San Francisco.

Minister of Finance under Naji Shaukat 1932 and again under Jamil Madfai 1933. Minister of Economics under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Said June to October 1943. In the Cabinet of Muhammad Sadr of 1948 he was first Minister without Portfolio, then Minister of Interior and finally Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Nasrat is more of a Turk than an Arab, although he was known as an Arab nationalist in the twenties when he was a member of the Shu'ab party of Yasin al Hashimi. He is honest, intelligent and cautious. His approach to political questions is legalistic and theoretical. When considering any course of action he sees the difficulties more clearly than the advantages and is inclined to be obstructive. This characteristic made him one of Iraq's worst Ministers of Interior. He is a sincere reformer who believes in parliamentary democracy and resents the abuses of it which are normal in Iraq. He resigned from Nuri's Cabinet in 1943 as a protest against the Regent's interference in the elections. The nationalist views of his younger days have been modified by experience, but he is still a firm opponent of what he regards as undue British influence exercised through Nuri and the Palace. His wife is prominent in Ladies' Red

Crescent activities, and both speak good English. He is personally friendly to the British.

101. Nuri al Qadhi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Graduated from Bagdad Law School in Turkish times, and in 1914 was a judge in Basra. During the first world war he served as a reserve officer with the Turkish forces.

He joined Iraqi Government service in 1921 after serving as judge in the Muntafik under the Civil Administration. Vice-President of the Civil Courts in several provinces, including Bagdad, 1925, and Mosul, 1937. Director-General of Waqfs, 1931. Head of Legal Drafting Department, Ministry of Justice, 1936. Director-General Ministry of Justice, March 1940, Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers, December, 1941.

He accompanied Nuri Said to Ankara for the negotiation of the Iraqi-Turkish Treaty of 1946. Minister of Education, 1946, under Arshad al Umari, he afterwards returned to his post with the Council of Ministers, which he still holds.

102. Nuri Sa'id

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888, son of an accountant of Mosul descent. Educated at Military College, Istanbul and served in the Balkan war.

He was one of the founders of the Arab Nationalist Society, Al Ahd, in 1913 and joined the Arab army in the Hejaz in 1916. He served in this army as C.G.S. under his brother-in-law, Jafar al Askari. At that time he was described as a good strategist, clever and hard working, but rash and hot-headed under fire. He won the D.S.O. in 1917 and was appointed an honorary C.M.G. in 1919.

After the 1914 war he remained with Faisal in Syria and accompanied him to London and Paris in 1919 and 1920. He was opposed to Faisal's break with the French.

He returned to Bagdad in February 1921 and soon after became C.G.S. and Director-General of Police, retaining these appointments until 1922.

He has been nine times Minister of Defence, in 1922 (Acting), 1923, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1929 (twice) 1933 and 1941 (Acting), in Cabinets headed by Jafar al Askari, Abdul Muhsin Sa'adun, Rashid Ali Gailani and himself. Nine times Minister for Foreign Affairs, in 1930, 1933 (twice), 1934, 1938 (Acting), 1940 (Acting), 1942 (Acting), in Cabinets headed by Rashid Ali Gailani, Jamil Madfai, Ali Jaudat and himself. He has also been Prime Minister in 1930, 1931, 1938, 1939, 1941-43, 1946 and 1949.

His achievements in diplomacy are also impressive. He negotiated and signed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930; he negotiated the Bon Voisinage Agreement with Nejd and the Hejaz, 1931. He signed the Extradition Treaty and a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey in 1932 and negotiated and signed the Economic and Commercial Treaty with Turkey in 1946. He represented Iraq at the London conversations in January 1939, which eventually resulted in the issue of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine, and he led the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations General Assembly which decided the partition of Palestine in 1947. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation which signed the unratified Portsmouth Treaty with the United Kingdom in 1948.

After the Bekr Sidqi military coup of October 1936, during which Jafar al Askari was murdered, Nuri retired with his family to Egypt. He returned a year later after Bekr Sidqi had been murdered and Hikmat Sulaiman's Government had fallen, but left again soon after and spent most of 1938 in Syria, Egypt and London, where he held a number of inconclusive conversations with politicians on the Palestine problem. In December 1938 he returned to Iraq and became Prime Minister as a result of a military demonstration organised on his behalf by Taha al Hashimi and Hussain Fawzi, against the Govern-

ment of Jamil Madfai. In January 1941 he resigned from Rashid Ali's Government, in which he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, because of Rashid Ali's increasing inclination towards the Axis Powers. In April 1941, shortly before the army overthrew Taha al Hashimi and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali, Nuri withdrew to Transjordan, where he remained until he was able to return with the Regent in June. He became Prime Minister in the autumn of the same year and remained in power until June 1944. During this period he collaborated closely with His Majesty's Ambassador in eradicating pro-Nazi propaganda in Iraq and it was due to his initiative that Iraq declared war on the Axis Powers in January 1943.

He accompanied the Regent on his travels to America and Europe during the summer of 1945, and to England in 1946. On his way home on the second occasion he had talks in Syria and Turkey in the hope of removing the difficulties between these countries.

He formed a Cabinet in November 1946 to carry out elections, and included in it some younger men and representatives of the newly formed National Democratic and Liberal Parties. Nuri's ideas about free elections did not agree with theirs, and they resigned after about a month protesting that Nuri and Saleh Jabr were preparing to exert undue Government influence on the elections.

Nuri collaborated with Saleh Jabr in the negotiation of the Portsmouth Treaty during 1947 and shared with him the nationalist resentment which was fermented against it in January 1948. Within a year, however, he demonstrated his mastery of the Iraqi political scene by returning to power as Prime Minister in January 1949. He succeeded in improving public security and in withdrawing the army from Palestine without incident. He took a very firm line with the organising committees of the Communist Party, five members of which were hanged. But he failed to do much to improve the financial position of the Government in spite of a personal visit to London. He was much disappointed by his failure to obtain an advance of royalties from the Iraq Petroleum Company. During the troubled period which followed Colonel Zaim's *coup d'état* in Syria in the spring of 1949, Nuri worked hard, but unsuccessfully, for Iraqi-Syrian union. He resigned in December 1949.

In June 1950 he went to London to seek advice on methods of bringing pressure to bear on the L.P.C. to revise the oil concessions.

Nuri dominates Iraqi politics. Death or exile have removed the few politicians of his generation such as Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali Gailani who could hope to rival him, and of the younger men only Saleh Jabr is in his class. His intelligence, vigour and courage have not yet begun to fail and he can still deal as unscrupulously and ruthlessly with his enemies as in the past. Nevertheless, his outstanding skill in political intrigue and his fearless advocacy of the British connexion have made him widely distrusted both inside and outside Iraq, and this has prevented him achieving any positive success during his last few periods of office.

His talents are in negotiation and political manoeuvre and his interest in Arab and world politics. His dream is of an Arab Kingdom unified under a Hashimite monarch. This kingdom would exclude Egypt and Arabia and would be closely allied with Great Britain.

He is a poor administrator who dismisses internal affairs as "routine" and his long periods of power have contributed little to Iraqi social or economic progress. Not personally corrupt, he condones corruption in others (his son Subah is notorious in this respect) and his nephews and marriage connexions can usually count on obtaining Government employment.

He enjoys his food and drink, has a keen sense of humour and is excellent company. He speaks English, German, French and Turkish.

103. Nuruddin Mahmud

Kurd, born in Mosul in 1899. Educated in Ottoman military schools, he was commissioned in the Turkish army in 1917 and in the Iraqi army in 1921.

A graduate of Camberley and Quetta, he was Iraqi Military Attaché in London in 1935 and became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1937. Promoted Colonel in 1939, he was appointed Ministry of Defence member of the Iraqi State Railways Board, and in 1940 he became Director of Military Operations.

In 1941 he opposed Rashid Ali's rebellion and after its collapse he took over command and initiated the Anglo-Iraqi armistice. Commander 2nd Division (Kirkuk), 1941-43; Assistant C.G.S., 1943; promoted Major-General and appointed Commander 1st Division (Diwaniya), 1944. In 1943 he visited the Western Desert battlefields, and in 1946 he attended the victory celebrations in London. In 1948 he was promoted Lieutenant-General and commanded the Iraqi forces in Palestine, where he was involved in the inter-Arab jealousies which prevented the establishment of an effective Arab High Command. In 1949 he returned to command the 1st Division.

He is probably the best Iraqi General officer. He is one of the few with modern military knowledge and is a capable leader and administrator. Although he is an ambitious man he does not dabble in politics; he enjoys the confidence of the army. Temperate and affable, he speaks English and Turkish well and his sympathies are pro-British.

104. Rafail Petros Butti

Christian of Mosul, born 1901. Educated at the Assyrian Orthodox School, Mosul, and at Secondary School, Bagdad. He later attended night classes and graduated from the Bagdad Law School, 1929.

Served in minor posts in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1929. Contributed to the newspaper *Al Iraq* while still an official and after his resignation published *Al Bilad* in partnership with Jebran Malcon (q.v.). As a journalist he was consistently anti-British, but in Iraqi politics he frequently changed sides. He supported Nuri Said from 1921 to 1929, with occasional lapses. He supported Yasin al Hashimi from 1930 to 1935, Bekr Sidqi 1936 to 1937, and Rashid Ali 1938 to 1942. He was interned in 1942 but released in 1943 and resumed publication of *Al Bilad*. He went to Egypt in 1944 and remained there until 1948.

He was Deputy for Mosul in 1935, for Basra in 1939 and for Bagdad in 1948, in which year he attended the inter-Parliamentary Conference at Rome. He joined the Istiqlal Party in 1948 and was considered as one of its leaders. He resigned from the Majlis with the other Opposition Deputies in March 1950 and from the Istiqlal Party in May, because of its decision to contest the bye elections occasioned by the resignations.

Butti is a capable and fearless journalist but he is unscrupulous, venal and quite unreliable.

105. Rashid Ali al Gailani

Bagdad Sunni, born 1892. A distant relation of the Naqib. A Waqf clerk in Ottoman times, he fled to Mosul with the Turks after the capture of Bagdad and practised as a lawyer after the fall of Mosul.

Appointed judge, 1921, he soon showed his ability. Minister of Justice under Yasin al Hashimi, 1924-25, he resigned over the signing of the Turkish Petroleum Company's concession. President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1925-26. Minister of Interior under Jafar al Askari, 1926-28.

Again elected Deputy in 1930, he resigned (with others) in 1931 in protest against the conduct of

Nuri Said's Government, and became a prominent member of the nationalist Hizb al Ikha al Watani. Chief Private Secretary to the King 1932-33.

Prime Minister from March to October 1933 he was appointed Senator in 1934. He helped to organise the Euphrates disturbances which forced Ali Jaudat to resign in spring 1935, and became Minister of Interior in the Cabinet then formed by Yasin al Hashimi.

In 1936 he fled to Istanbul after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état*. Returning to Iraq in 1937, he opposed Jamil Madfai's Government and was deported to Anah for a short time in 1938.

Prime Minister from March 1940 to January 1941, he moved steadily towards a closer understanding with the Axis. He kept close contact with the Italian Legation in Baghdad, supported the intrigues of the Mufti of Jerusalem, sponsored the overtures made by Naji Shaukat (q.v.) to the German Minister in Turkey, and encouraged the pro-Nazi press. Forced to resign by British pressure in January 1941, he returned to office through a *coup d'état* in April, installed Sharif Sharaf in place of the Regent and, backed by the Iraqi Army, refused to allow more than one brigade of British troops in Iraq.

In May 1941, when hostilities broke out between the Iraqi Army and the British forces in Habbaniya, he tried to unite the country against Britain but failed to get substantial tribal support. After the defeat of the Iraqi forces he fled to Persia, Turkey, and finally to Germany.

He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to death in 1942. Recognised by the Axis as legitimate Prime Minister of Iraq, he conducted an anti-British campaign by radio throughout the war.

In 1945 he escaped through the German lines to Prague and thence, with a false passport and the unwitting assistance of Allied military transport, to Marseilles, from where he sailed to Beirut. He arrived at Riyadh in September 1945, declared himself to Ibn Saud and was granted asylum.

He is still in Riyadh, an extra thorn in Saudi-Hashimite relations. Ibn Saud is said to be tired of him, but schemes to move him elsewhere have not been satisfactory, and seasonal rumours that the Regent had pardoned him have proved untrue. He still has admirers in Iraq, particularly in the Istiqlal Party, and it is by no means certain that Iraq has seen the last of him.

106. Rauf al Babrani

Bagdad Shia, born 1897. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was appointed to a clerical post in the Ministry of Finance in 1922 and rose—it is said not entirely by merit—to be Director-General of Customs and Excise in 1935.

Minister of Finance under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Again Director-General of Customs and Excise 1938-40. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said 1940; of Social Affairs under Rashid Ali 1940-41; and again of Social Affairs in Rashid Ali's rebel Government in April-May 1941.

After Rashid Ali's overthrow he fled to Persia, where he was arrested by British forces in autumn 1941 and sent for internment to Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq for trial in 1944, he was condemned to three years' hard labour and sequestration of his property.

After his release he engaged in business and gradually reinstated himself until in May 1950 he was appointed Director-General of Income Tax.

Although he talks the conventional Arab nationalist language, he was a tool rather than an associate of Rashid Ali. Early in 1950 he made himself known to a member of this Embassy and would like to rehabilitate himself in British eyes. He speaks no English.

107. Rauf al Chadirchi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1884. Educated at Istanbul and at Berlin and Geneva Universities. Before the war he was successively a clerk in the legal drafting department of the Turkish Ministry of Justice, a professor of law at the Turkish Law College, Qaimmagam of Diyala, and adviser on foreign affairs to the Turkish Governor of Bagdad. Immediately before its fall he was the Mayor of Bagdad. He went to Berlin shortly before the occupation, and later to Switzerland. He was not permitted to return to Bagdad until 1920.

In Bagdad he practised as a lawyer and took no part in Nationalist agitation, but was asked to go with his father when the latter was deported to Istanbul in August 1920. He returned in 1921 and took up his law practice, obtaining much of the business of foreign firms owing to his knowledge of languages. Professor at the Bagdad Law School 1922, Dean 1923.

Deputy for Hilla 1924, he opposed the 1922 Treaty. Minister of Finance under Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Minister of Justice under Jafar al Askari 1926. Iraqi Minister to Ankara 1929. He resigned in 1930 and returned to Bagdad as legal adviser to the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Iraqi Minister in London 1936. He resigned in 1939 and remained in London, where he is now retired. He generally spends a few of the winter months in Bagdad.

Rauf has a charming and kindly personality and looks on the intrigues and enthusiasms of Iraqi politics with an indulgent contempt. He is universally popular and consequently well informed, but will not often talk about politics. He speaks English, French, German and Turkish, and is badly crippled with arthritis.

108. Razzuq Ghannam

Bagdad Christian, born about 1887 of a well-off family. Educated at the Latin School, Bagdad, he associated with the Pachachis as a boy. Employed at first by a British firm in Bagdad he joined an Arab nationalist society and was exiled by the Turks to Kaiseri. During the First World War he escaped to Persia and thence, after the British occupation, to Bagdad, where he was employed as a translator for an Arabic newspaper published by the British authorities.

He first began to publish *Al Iraq* in 1921 and is the doyen of Bagdad journalists, having employed both Jebran Malkon (q.v.) and Rafail Butti (q.v.). Often a Deputy (the first time in 1930), he began to lean towards a woolly but sincere socialism during the Second World War.

Al Iraq finally died out soon after the war, and Razzuq is not now very active, though he has recently been seeking permission to publish a new magazine. He speaks English and is pro-British.

109. Sa'ad Umar

Born in Kerbala in 1917. Shia. Son of Umar Haj Alwan, one of the Kerbala representatives on the Constituent Assembly. Educated at Kerbala and Bagdad. Graduated in the Law College about 1941. Thereafter he practised as a lawyer in Kerbala until 1947, when he became Deputy for Kerbala. He was not re-elected in 1948, but was put in in a bye-election later in the year. Minister for Social Affairs in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949, and of Education in Tawfik al Suweidi's Cabinet in January 1950. A member of Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Union Party November 1949.

A protégé of Saleh Jabr, who was a friend of his father. He owns a little property in Kerbala. He is full of large ideas but very inexperienced and unintelligent.

110. Sadiq al Bassam

Bagdad Shia, born about 1895. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he practised as a lawyer for several years.

Elected Deputy for Kut in 1930, he supported Yasin al Hashimi and was a member of the Ikha al Watani Party. Minister of Education under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Minister of Economics under Nuri Said 1939-40 and of Education under Rashid Ali in 1941.

Remaining inactive during the 1941 disturbances, he was Minister of Justice 1941-42 and of Communications and Works December 1943 to June 1944 under Nuri Said; of Finance under Muhammad as Sadr, January to June 1948; and of Defence under Muzahim Pachachi from June to October 1948. A Senator from 1941, his appointment was not renewed in 1949.

Sadiq is a xenophobe with violent prejudices and ill-concealed fanaticism. As Minister of Defence in 1948 he was mainly responsible for the fierce sentences passed on Jews by the courts martial and for encouraging anti-Jewish feeling. He does not like the British, and his policy is often indistinguishable from that of the Istiqlal Party. He speaks Arabic only.

111. Saïd Haqqi

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born 1883. Educated Military Academy, Istanbul and gazetted an officer in the Turkish army 1903.

He joined the Iraqi army on its formation in 1921 and reached the rank of colonel. He resigned about 1930 as a result of a disagreement with Taha al Hashimi, then C.G.S. He has subsequently held posts as Director-General of Jails, Director of Civil Aviation and finally, in about 1939, Keeper of the Privy Purse at the Palace.

Minister of Defence under Arshad al Umari in 1946, for lack of a suitable alternative Kurd, he afterwards returned to his post in the Palace.

He leads a quiet life and politically and socially is almost unknown. He speaks no English.

112. Saleh Jabr, K.B.E.

Shia, born about 1897 in Nasiriya. His father was a carpenter, originally from the Beni Zaid tribe of Shatta. Educated in Nasiriya, he became a clerk in the Najaf court in 1919.

By 1924 he had risen to be head clerk in the Ministry of Justice. He entered the Bagdad Law College the same year, and after graduation in 1927-28 he was appointed as a judge and served for over two years in the Middle Euphrates.

Elected Deputy for the Muntafik in 1930 and 1934, he was Minister of Education under Jamil Madfai November 1933 to February 1934. Mutasarrif Kerbala 1935-36. Appointed Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in October 1936, he resigned in June 1937 over the Euphrates disturbances and left the country. He returned after Hikmat's resignation and was appointed Director-General of Customs and Excise.

Minister of Education December 1938 to February 1940 and then of Social Affairs until March 1940 under Nuri Said. Mutasarrif of Basra from June 1940, he supported the Regent when his Royal Highness fled to Basra in April 1941 to escape from Rashid Ali. Arrested by Rashid Ali, he narrowly escaped a heavy sentence and was released on condition he left the country. He withdrew to Tehran and returned after Rashid Ali's fall.

Minister of Interior October 1941 to October 1942, of Finance until June 1943, and again of Interior until October 1943 under Nuri Said. Minister of Finance June 1944 to February 1946 and Acting Minister of Supply August to December 1944 under

Hamdi Pachachi. During Pachachi's absences he acted as Prime Minister and was expected to form a Government when the Pachachi Cabinet resigned. He was not, however, chosen, and spent much of the summer of 1946 in England.

He was appointed honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946.

After a short time as Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in November 1946 he became the first Shia Prime Minister of Iraq after the elections of March 1947. Forced to resign in January 1948 by popular demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty, he spent much of 1948 abroad, but gradually recovered his position during 1949 and became Minister of Interior under Tawfik Suweidi in February 1950.

Saleh's merit has justified his rise from obscurity to be the first Shia Prime Minister and most powerful Shia politician in Iraq. He has a strong personality and is capable, energetic and courageous. His influence in the Euphrates area is greater than any other man's and many of the better young officials are his admirers. On the other hand, as he showed when Prime Minister, he is dictatorial, secretive, pompous and vindictive; and thus he makes many bitter enemies. But he and Nuri Said are the two most influential statesmen in Iraq, and as long as they co-operate their authority will not easily be challenged. Division would weaken both, for Nuri lacks Saleh's strength of purpose and Saleh has none of Nuri's adroitness. Moreover, Saleh has so far neglected to extend his influence in the north.

As an administrator Saleh Jabr left a good name, though he was too aloof to make many personal friends. As Prime Minister he concerned himself too much with long-range economic planning and foreign policy, neglecting his colleagues and his enemies and the necessary short-term economic measures. This neglect was the ultimate cause of his fall.

His sympathies are with Britain, but he is a hard bargainer for the interests of his country. His great disappointment in foreign affairs was his failure in 1947 to persuade the Arab League to impose oil sanctions on the Americans as a reprisal for their pro-Zionist policy.

His first wife died in 1936 and in 1942 he married the strong-minded and meddlesome daughter of the late Addai al Jervan, chief of the influential Abu Sulhan tribe of Hilla. During the war her interference lost him much support when the Abu Sulhan were divided, but in recent years he has regained, and profited by, the full support of the Hilla district.

He speaks English.

113. Salih Saib

Sunni of the Jubur tribe of Mosul, born in 1898. Commissioned in the Turkish army in 1916 and in the Iraqi army in 1921, he was appointed instructor in the newly formed Small Arms School in Bagdad. During this appointment he attended a small arms course at Hythe, and later attended courses at the Iraqi Staff College and the Staff College, Camberley.

A personal friend of Bekr Sidqi and a supporter of the 1936 *coup d'état*, he was retired after the assassination of Bekr Sidqi and appointed Assistant Director-General of the Iraqi State Railways. In 1941, after Rashid Ali's flight, he was invited to rejoin the army and was appointed G.O.C. 3rd Division. In 1944 he succeeded Ismail Namiq (q.v.) as Chief of the General Staff. He still holds this appointment. He was promoted lieutenant-general in 1945 and general in 1949.

He neither drinks, smokes nor gambles, and is said to be just and honest; but he has neither the ability nor the personality to be a good C.G.S. and his incoherence as a leader was displayed in the 1948 Palestine campaign. He speaks English.

114. Salim Terzi

Bagdad Jew, born 1899. Educated at the Alliance School, Bagdad, he entered the Posts and Telegraphs Department and rose to be Director-General. In this position he co-operated wholeheartedly with the British forces during the war and was appointed Honorary O.B.E. in 1946.

He was placed on pension whilst on leave in Europe in 1948 and has since lived in England and on the continent. He and his wife speak English well. Returned to Iraq April 1950.

115. Salman Sheikh Daud

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1900. Once a lawyer and journalist, he was one of the first Iraqis to attack the Axis openly and independently in speeches and in the press after the outbreak of the Second World War. He was a member of the delegation of Iraqi journalists who visited Britain in 1945 and is Bagdad representative of the Arab News Agency. He was elected Deputy in 1943, 1947 and 1948.

Wealthy but given to women and drink, he has become a wreck of a man. Formerly a critic of Nuri Said's Governments he is now the boon-companion of Nuri's less reputable associates. He has very little political influence. He speaks some French.

116. Sami Fattah

A native of Mosul of Kurdish origin, born in 1905. Educated at the Teachers' Training College in Bagdad, he taught in Iraqi schools from 1922 to 1925.

In 1925 he joined the Iraqi Army and was sent to Sandhurst in 1926. Commissioned in the Iraqi Army in 1928, he was attached to the newly formed Royal Iraqi Air Force and returned to England for training with the R.A.F. When he came back to Iraq he was appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, in which he has served ever since.

He graduated from the Iraqi Staff College in 1937 and in 1941, after the Rashid Ali rebellion, he was appointed Commander of the R.I.A.F. He has held this appointment ever since (with the rank of Brigadier, except for a short interlude in 1948 when he was sent to Europe on a secret arms purchasing mission which was a complete failure).

He is an energetic and jovial man, a good disciplinarian, and one of the Iraqi army's best leaders. He has made every effort to improve the training and equipment of the R.I.A.F. He speaks English well and his sympathies are pro-British.

117. Sami Shawkat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Brother of Naji Shawkat (q.v.). Graduated from Military College of Medicine, Istanbul, 1916. Joined the Arab army in Syria in 1919.

Appointed to Iraqi Health Service 1921; Director-General of Education 1937; Director-General of Public Health 1936; again Director-General of Education 1939.

Minister of Social Affairs 1939 and of Education 1940 under Nuri Said. He was re-appointed Director-General of Education in April 1940 and retained this position through the disturbances of 1941 until 1943, when he became Director-General of Social Affairs.

Resigned from Government service in 1945 and started the newspaper *Ba'ith al-Qawmi*, which was violently nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-British and was suppressed in 1946. In 1949 he started a political party named *Islah*, together with a few retired officials. Elected Deputy for Kut in the bye-elections of June 1950.

He is earnest, obtuse and fairly honest, with an exaggerated sense of his own importance. He speaks Arabic and Turkish only.

118. Sfuq al Ajil

Sunni Sheikh of the Shammar Jarba tribe. Born about 1910 and educated at the American University in Beirut, he succeeded to his father Ajil al Yawar as paramount sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq in 1940, and inherited the wealth which Ajil had acquired from contracts with the B.O.D. Company and the Iraqi State Railways.

During the war he had disputes with his cousins, led by Mish'an al Faisal, over the leadership of the Shammar, and with his younger brother Ahmad al Ajil (q.v.) over their inheritance. In 1944 Ahmad was suspected of being the author of a plot to poison him with locust bait.

Sfuq was detained in Mosul in 1945 for failing to assist the Government to control his tribesmen, and again in 1946 for aggression against a neighbouring tribe, the Albu Mutaiwit. In 1948 he was replaced as paramount Sheikh first by Mish'an al Faisal, and later by his brother Ahmad.

He is flabby, selfish and incapable.

119. Shakir al Wadi, M.V.O.

Bagdad Sunni, born 1894; younger brother of Jamil al Wadi (q.v.). An officer in the Turkish army from 1915 to the Armistice, he joined the Iraqi army in 1921.

Promoted captain in 1928, he was attached for training to British units in the United Kingdom in 1929. In 1930 he was promoted major and made A.D.C. to King Faisal, on whose staff he served during His Majesty's State visit to Britain in 1933. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel and attended the Staff College, Camberley, in 1935.

Returning to Iraq in 1936, he was appointed G.S.O.I. in the Kirkuk Division, of which Beka Sidqi was the G.O.C., and was the latter's right-hand man in the 1936 *coup d'Etat*. Appointed military attaché in London after the murder of Bekr Sidqi in 1937, he was dismissed and placed on the retired list a few weeks later, and soon began to take part in political intrigue.

Appointed second secretary in the Iraqi Legation in Tehran in 1939, he later fell under the influence of the German Legation there and as *chargé d'affaires* in 1941 he dutifully carried out the instructions of Rashid Ali's rebel Government.

Consul at Jerusalem 1941-44. First secretary (and sometimes *chargé d'affaires*) in the Iraqi Legation in London 1944-46. Appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1946.

Minister of Defence under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947; under Saleh Jabr March 1947 to January 1948; under Muzahim Pachachi October 1948 to January 1949; under Nuri Said January 1949 to December 1949; and under Tawfiq Suweidi from February 1950. Appointed Senator March 1949.

Shakir enjoys the personal friendship and confidence of the Regent, to whose influence he owes his frequent ministerial appointments since 1946. He is ambitious and fairly capable; corrupt, but popular in the army, for whom, through his influence with the Regent, he can get things that others could not. He is widely disliked in political circles, partly through jealousy and partly on account of his very disreputable private life. He speaks English well and supports Iraq's British connexion.

120. Dr. Shawkat al Zahawi

Kurd, born about 1898, the son of a colonel in the Ottoman army. Educated in Bagdad and at the Military Medical College in Constantinople, he joined the Iraqi Health Service in 1922.

He has specialised in pathology, on which he has written a number of articles. He is now Director of the Central Pathological Institute and acting Professor of Pathology in the Royal Medical College.

He was Minister of Social Affairs under Tawfiq al Suweidi for a short time in 1946.

In the Royal Medical College he is an incompetent intriguer, but since he is married to a daughter of the late Mohammed Fadhil Pasha al Daghestani, and therefore has connexions with Najib al Rawi (q.v.) and Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.), he cannot easily be unseated. He speaks English.

121. Taha al Hashemi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at Istanbul and served in the Turkish army in Arabia and the Yemen during the First World War. Appointed to the Turkish General Staff 1920.

He returned to Bagdad in 1922, joined the Iraq army and was given command of the troops in Mosul. C.G.S. 1923. He was on the staff of the High Commissioner for the frontier negotiations with Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne 1924. When the post of C.G.S. was abolished he became tutor to the then Crown Prince Ghazi 1924; Chief of the Census Department 1926; and Director of Education 1928. In 1930 he again became C.G.S. In 1931 he visited the Imam Yahya and concluded the Iraq-Yemen Treaty of Friendship. He was in Turkey in October 1936 when the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* forced the resignation of the Prime Minister (Taha's brother, the late Yasin al Hashemi), and he did not return to Iraq until September 1937, after the murder of Bekr Sidqi.

Elected Deputy for Bagdad December 1937 and again in 1939. In December 1938, in collaboration with the C.G.S., Husain Fawzi (q.v.), he organised the military demonstration which caused the resignation of Jamil Madfal (q.v.) and replaced him as Prime Minister by Nuri Said. Taha became Minister of Defence in Nuri's Government and retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Rashid Ali in 1940. He resigned in January 1941 and himself became Prime Minister in February. He failed to break the influence of the pro-Axis military clique, who overthrew him and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali a month later. He then retired to Turkey, where he remained for the rest of the war, because Nuri Said was unwilling to allow him to return.

Since the war he has lived mostly in Syria, visiting Iraq about every six months in order to draw his pension. His name is often mentioned as a possible leader of the Istiqlal Party or of a united opposition, but nothing has come of these rumours. Always overshadowed by his brother Yasin, he now appears to be a spent force.

122. Tahsin Ali

Bagdad Sunni, born 1890 and educated at Bagdad and Istanbul. He fought for the Turks in the Balkans and at Basra but joined the Sherifian army after the fall of Bagdad, became a brigade commander and was awarded the M.C.

Returning to Iraq with King Faisal he became Secretary to the Ministry of Defence. Appointed Commandant of Police, Mosul, in 1922, he held a number of administrative posts, including those of Mutasarrif of Basra and Mosul, until 1938, when he was made Director-General of the P.W.D. Again Mutasarrif of Mosul from 1939, he was removed by Rashid Ali in 1941 but restored after Rashid Ali's flight.

Minister of Education under Nuri Said 1941-43. Head of the Royal Diwan 1943-44. Minister of Defence for a short time under Hamdi Pachachi in 1944. Director-General of Awqaf 1944-48. Retired 1948.

He was an official on the Ottoman model, stupid and obstinate but tolerant. His humour is Rabelaisian.

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123. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O.

Sunni of Damascus, born 1893. He was with King Faisal in Damascus and accompanied him to Europe in 1920. Came to Bagdad with the King and was appointed A.D.C. in 1921.

Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1932, he accompanied King Faisal on his State visit to England in 1933. He resigned in 1936 owing to Princess Azza's scandalous marriage. Counsellor to Iraqi Legation, Tehran, 1936. Consul-General, Bombay, 1937. Director of Protocol in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in February and Consul-General, Beirut, in July 1939. He became, in addition, *Chargé d'affaires* at Damascus when the Iraqi Government recognised the new Syrian Government in 1943. Accredited as Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1944. Acting Director-General, Foreign Affairs, 1945. Minister at Paris 1946. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1947. In June 1949 he was temporarily appointed Minister at Tehran when the Regent visited Persia in that year, but returned to his post at the Palace a few months later.

Tahsin is sociable and clever and makes an efficient and agreeable Master of Ceremonies. He much enjoys his whisky and the company of European ladies. Politically he is a lightweight and in spite of his opportunities has little influence over the Regent. He is married to the heiress of Abdul Wahhab Pasha Qartas of Basra. He speaks Turkish, French and English.

124. Talib Mushtaq

Bagdad Sunni, born 1900, the son of a minor official. He took part in the anti-mandate and anti-British agitation of 1922 and 1923.

He was employed in the Ministry of Education from 1924 to 1931, when he was appointed first Secretary in the Iraqi Legation in Ankara. Director of the Consular Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1935; Consul-General, Beirut, 1937; dismissed the service 1938. Accountant-General and later Director-General of Propaganda in 1939.

Appointed Consul-General in Jerusalem in 1940, he supported Rashid Ali's rebel government in 1941 and spread anti-British propaganda. He was recalled to Iraq and interned after the collapse of Rashid Ali.

Became director of the Arab Bank in 1945; is fanatically pro-Arab and anti-Jew; has not much knowledge of banking but appears to be on good terms with influential politicians such as Saleh Jabr.

125. Tawfiq al Naib

Sunni, born about 1895. A student at the Law School in Bagdad at the outbreak of the First World War, he completed his studies after the British occupation and was appointed to a post in the Department of Justice in 1923.

From 1926 to 1943 he was a judge and served in many parts of the country, though the bulk of his service was in Bagdad. He gained the reputation of a strong and just judge without political ambitions.

Appointed Mutasarrif of Kut 1943, and transferred to Diwaniya 1944. Minister of Economics under Saleh Jabr from September 1947 to January 1948, and of Interior under Nuri Said from March to September 1949.

He is a quiet, retiring man who neither smokes nor drinks.

He was a good judge, but a poor administrator. He is impassive and unimaginative, and needs always the letter of the law to support a decision that others may enforce. He speaks no English.

126. Tawfiq Suweidi

Sunni, of a well-established Bagdad family, born about 1889. Educated at Bagdad, Istanbul and Paris, where he studied International Law, he was appointed

interpreter to the Ministry of Education at Istanbul in 1913. In the same year he represented Iraq at the Arab Conference in Paris. During the First World War he was in Istanbul. After the armistice he joined the Arab Government in Syria and was appointed a judge at Damascus. He returned to Bagdad in 1921 and was appointed Assistant Government Counsellor and Director of the Law School.

Deputy from 1924. President of the Chamber 1929, he has held the following Cabinet posts: Education under Abdul Musin Sa'adun 1928; Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in 1934; Justice in Jamil Madfai's twelve-day Cabinet of 1935; Foreign Affairs again under Madfai 1937; Foreign Affairs under Taha al Hashimi 1941. He was Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Pasha for a short time in 1943 but resigned the following year when the constitutional validity of this office was called in question. He was Prime Minister in 1929, 1946 and 1950.

Tawfiq was Iraqi Minister at Tehran in 1931 and has had considerable diplomatic experience. As Minister for Foreign Affairs he headed the Iraqi Delegation to Geneva in 1937, where he is said to have handled the Palestine and Assyrian questions with tact and moderation. He again represented Iraq at Geneva in 1938 and afterwards visited London to discuss the Palestine problem with the British Foreign and Colonial Secretaries. He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and in 1948 he was one of the signatories of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty.

His elder brother, the late Naji Suweidi, was a prominent member of Rashid Ali's rebel Government but Tawfiq was not implicated in the movement. Nevertheless, he is not completely trusted by the Regent and was not appointed a Senator until 1947. The Regent also vetoed Nuri's proposal to include him in his Cabinet in the autumn of 1949.

Tawfiq is intelligent, subtle and not altogether honest, either politically or financially. In Arab affairs he generally follows the Egyptian lead and in Iraqi politics he is normally opposed to Nuri Said but has co-operated with him on occasion. He is popularly supposed to be a Liberal. It was he who permitted the operation of political parties in 1946 after they had been banned for many years, and for a short time in 1946 he was president of the Liberal Party. He also has some reputation as a nationalist, but it is doubtful if any of his political convictions are strongly held. He is a rich man, a landed proprietor, who has also wide business interests, in many cases in partnership with Iraqi Jews. He is known to have used his political influence in favour of his business interests. He has a keen sense of humour, is excellent company and speaks French and English fluently but incorrectly.

127. Tawfiq Wahbi Ma'ruf, C.B.E.

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born in 1887. Graduating from the Turkish Military College in 1904, he served in European Turkey and was a regimental commander and later a staff officer in the Ottoman army during the 1914-18 war.

After the war he joined the Iraqi army and was appointed Military Adviser to Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.) in 1923. Leaving Sheikh Mahmud when the latter's conduct became impossible, he was appointed Commandant of the Bagdad Military College with the rank of colonel. In 1929 he was sent on a course to the United Kingdom.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya for a short time in 1930, he remained unemployed for several years afterwards but was ultimately appointed Director-General of Surveys. He resigned from Government service in 1941 and made a comfortable fortune as a contractor.

Minister of Economics under Hamdi Pachachi 1944-46, of Education under Saleh Jabr in 1947, and

of Social Affairs under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1950. Made a Senator in 1948.

Appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946.

Tawfiq is keenly interested in Kurdish culture and has spent much time compiling Kurdish dictionaries and writing Kurdish grammars. To young Kurdish nationalists he pleads moderation, but he is not influential with them.

He is a kind man, frank, affable and an Anglophile. His achievements in office fall short of his excellent intentions, and he is not a man to sway his colleagues. He speaks English, Persian and Turkish as well as Kurdish and Arabic.

128. Thabit Abdul Nur

Born 1890. Son of Aziz Abdul Nur, a prominent Jacobite Christian of Mosul. He was christened Nikole.

He became an officer in the Turkish army, embezzled money and fled to Syria to join the Sherifian forces. At this time he became a Moslem and changed his name to Thabit.

He returned to Iraq in 1921 and became prominent in extreme nationalist politics. Deputy for Mosul 1930.

Director of Oil Affairs in the Ministry of Economics and Communications 1931-33. He was tried for misappropriation of funds in 1932, but was acquitted. Counsellor in the Iraqi Legation in London 1933; Iraqi Oil Representative in London 1934; again Director of Oil Affairs in the Ministry of Economics and Communications 1935-36. Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires at Jeddah 1938, he visited the Yemen in January 1939.

At the outbreak of the war in 1939 he was on leave in Germany and did not return to Iraq. It is believed that he helped to prepare Arabic broadcasts from Berlin during the war. He has not since returned to Iraq. For some time he lived in retirement at Lausanne, and was reported in 1950 to be in Egypt.

129. Umar Nadhani

Kurd, born Kifri 1893. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was a civil judge before the 1914-18 war and Public Prosecutor to the Bagdad Military Court during the war.

He served as a judge again from 1921 to 1927, and from then to 1937 he was Mutasarrif in a number of provinces. Director-General of Revenues 1937-38.

Minister of Economics and Communications and later of Interior under Nuri Said 1939-40; of Communications and Works under Rashid Ali in 1940; of Interior under Taha al Hashimi in 1941 and under Nuri Said 1943-44; of Justice under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1946, under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947 and under Mohammed al Sadr January to March 1948; and of Interior under Muzahim Pachachi 1948-49. Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Said 1949. Again Minister of Interior under Ali Jaudat December 1949 to February 1950. He has been a Senator since 1939.

An amiable but stupid man, he probably owes his rise to eminence to the friends he made in the provinces (especially in the North) where he served as Mutasarrif, to the support of Nuri Said, and to a cautious and dignified demeanour. He speaks no English. He enjoys the Regent's confidence.

130. Yahya Qassim

Sunni of Mosul, born 1913. Educated Bagdad Law College.

He joined Government service in 1936. Was appointed Superintendent in the Council of Ministers' Office in 1937 and later transferred to the Iraqi State Railways.

He was at that time an active Left-winger, and was reported to have a hand in the publication of the clandestine newspaper *Al Sharara*. In 1943 he was arrested for the distribution of Leftist literature and was discharged from the Iraqi State Railways. In 1944 he started the newspaper *Al Sha'ab* as the organ of the now defunct Leftist party of that name. He now owns and edits this paper himself, and it is no longer connected with any party. He visited England with a party of journalists in 1945 and became a convinced and outspoken admirer of the British people. In 1946 he joined the National Democratic Party but soon resigned owing to personal differences. He was taken up by Saleh Jabr in 1947 and accompanied him to London in January 1948 for the signature of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty. He again visited England in the summer of 1949. In addition to journalism he practises as a lawyer and is paid a retainer by the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Yahya is a clever young man with a frank and friendly manner and a pronounced stammer. His newspaper is above the low level of the Bagdad press, and he has the courage on occasion to express unpopular opinions. He is completely loyal to Saleh Jabr, whom he regards as Iraq's main hope for the future. He has not abandoned his Socialist leanings and is a sincere advocate of reforms, but he is now no revolutionary. He is married to a niece of the late Amin Zaki Sulaiman and speaks good English.

131. Yunis Bahri

Sunni, born about 1904 of the Jubur tribe of Mosul. Known from his early days as an unprincipled and immoral character, he held minor Government clerical posts from 1923 to 1926.

In 1926 he toured abroad and was repatriated destitute from Paris after being imprisoned there for a misdemeanour. After a further tour from 1929 to 1933 to North Africa, Persia, Afghanistan, the Hadramaut, India and Java, he returned to Iraq to publish an extreme nationalist newspaper *Al Uqab*.

In 1936 he sold himself to the German Legation and in 1939 he went to Berlin and became the announcer of the Berlin Arabic broadcast. He continued to broadcast successfully from Berlin throughout the war except for a break from spring 1942 to autumn 1943, during which time he was popularly

supposed to have visited Iraq secretly. He also assisted in the briefing of German agents sent to Iraq.

At the end of the war he was reported to be with the Mufti of Jerusalem and escaped through Switzerland to Paris, where he was said to be used by the French and where he is reported to be living under the name of B. Juburi.

132. Yusuf Abdullah al Gailani (Saiyid)

Sunni, born 1907 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad and Balliol College, Oxford.

He returned to Iraq in 1934 and was appointed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in which he became Director of the Political Section in 1945 and Director-General in 1949. He was a member of the Iraqi Delegations to Arab League meetings in 1949 and 1950.

Yusuf is intelligent and friendly, cautious and a little shy. He takes no part in politics and is well informed only on those questions of Iraqi foreign policy on which he is employed. He complains of the amateurish and emotional conduct of Iraq's foreign relations by his successive political chiefs, and is occasionally critical of the intervention of the Regent in the detailed conduct of foreign affairs. He is, however, a loyal, discreet and competent official. He speaks excellent English, and his wife, who is also a Gailani, appears modestly in mixed society.

133. Yusuf Ghanima

Chaldean Catholic, born Bagdad about 1890. Elected Deputy for Bagdad in the first Iraqi elections, he was Minister of Finance under Abdul Muhsin Sa'adun in 1928 and under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1929.

Director-General of Revenues 1932 and of the Ministry of Finance 1933-34 and 1935-36. Minister of Finance under Ali Jawdat and Jamil Madfai 1934-35. Manager of the Agricultural-Industrial Bank 1936. Director-General of Antiquities 1941. Minister of Supply under Hamdi Pachachi 1944-46 and of Finance under Arshad al Umari in 1946 and under Saleh Jabr in 1947. He is a Senator.

Formerly hardworking and intelligent but colourless, he is now in very poor health and will probably never be active again. He speaks French and some English.

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No. 17

IRAQ: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Younger. (Received 14th July)

(No. 151. Confidential)

Bagdad,

Sir, *1st July, 1950.*

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 116 of 16th June, 1949, and to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of foreign missions at this post.

2. There are now three Embassies in Bagdad, the Iranian Legation having been raised to this status on 31st May, 1950. Ethiopia and Indonesia established Legations during the year, but Poland and Czechoslovakia have ceased to be represented. The Indonesian Minister died shortly after his arrival in Bagdad.

I have, &c.,

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 17

Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions
in Bagdad, 1950

(Passages marked with an asterisk are
reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Sardar Ghulam Yahya Tarzi, Minister (20th June, 1948).

*Sardar Ghulam Tarzi was Minister of Communications in Kabul before coming here. His previous diplomatic experience had been in Berlin many years ago, and German is his only European language. His wife is related to the Afghan Royal Family and they have seven children. (Written in 1948.)

*He always seems rather lost and he has made no position for himself here. His wife is purdah. (Written in 1949.) A grown-up daughter has recently emerged who speaks English and German.

Egypt

Hassan Zaki Bey, Minister (16th January, 1950).

Zaki Bey is also appointed to Amman, but in the present strained relations between Egypt and Jordan, he has not yet presented his Letters. He is a career diplomat and has previously served at The Hague, Bucharest and Kabul.

Zaki Bey is pleasant and cheerful and has an attractive young wife. He speaks English well. He should do better than his predecessor of whom the Iraq Government did not try to make any use.

France

Claude Achille Clarac, Minister (22nd June, 1950).

M. Georges Balay, who had been Minister here since January 1948, left Bagdad with unconcealed joy in April 1950, to take up the post of French representative on the Commission of Ten for Libya.

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M. Clarac, who succeeds M. Balay, is a career diplomatist. He served before the war at Washington and Tehran and was in charge of the consulate at Tetuan which he handed over to the Free French after the Allied landings in 1942. He was subsequently in Lisbon and Chungking and in Indo-China as diplomatic counsellor to the High Commissioner. He was appointed Inspector-General of French diplomatic missions in 1947.

He gives me the impression that he will take more kindly to Bagdad than his predecessor. He speaks English well.

Holy See

Mgr. Armand Etienne Blanquet du Chayla, Apostolic Delegate, 20th November, 1948.

*Mgr. du Chayla, the Latin Archbishop of Bagdad, was appointed Apostolic Delegate on 20th November, 1948. He is a Frenchman and a member of the Carmelite Order. His appointment represents a departure from the stand hitherto taken by the Iraqi Government that the Apostolic Delegate in Iraq should not be the national of a major Power. He is an agreeable and cultivated man, and it is always a pleasure to meet him. He has spent ten years in Bagdad.

Mgr. du Chayla's diplomatic position is still not regularised. (Written in 1949.)

Mgr. du Chayla is a sick man. He has returned to France in order to have an operation.

Italy

Alfonso Errera, Minister (14th April, 1949).

*Signor Errera, who is a bachelor, aged 57, and a doctor by profession, was posted here from Montevideo, his first diplomatic post. His background is uncompromisingly anti-Fascist and he suffered exile from his country between 1929 and the end of the war. He knows little of diplomacy and says he knows of no reason why he should have been sent to Bagdad except that he speaks some Arabic of the North African variety. (Written in 1949.)

Signor Errera lives in a hotel and has made no attempt to settle down. He recently made a bid for Iraqi friendship in a public statement to the effect that Italy had no imperialist designs, that Italy and the Arabs were one family in the Mediterranean, and that Libya must be unified and independent.

Jordan

Omar Zaki Pasha al Afyouni, Minister (22nd June, 1950).

Mohammed Ali al Ajlouni, who had been Minister since 1947, left Bagdad on 13th March, 1950, on transfer to Ankara.

Omar Zaki Pasha, his predecessor here from 1946 to 1947, has returned to Bagdad. The paragraph below is reproduced from the 1947 Heads of Missions report.

*Omar Zaki has a long connexion with Iraq, having been Qaimmakam of Kut in 1916. He later accompanied General Maude to Bagdad. After a considerable period as consul he was promoted Minister in October 1946. Though not a man of any remarkable ability, he is a loyal servant of Transjordan (although by birth a Lebanese) and a firm supporter of Britain. He has always shown

himself most friendly to us. He has a French wife, who appears little in public, and himself speaks French with greater facility than English. (Written in 1947.)

Lebanon

Kadhim al Solh, Minister (9th August, 1947).
*Kadhim al Solh is a cousin of Riad al Solh, Prime Minister of the Lebanon. Aged about 45, and a Sunni Moslem of Beirut, he is a graduate of the Damascus Law School. He started life as a journalist, until his paper was suspended by the French. Subsequently he organised a small but influential nationalist (but not anti-British) political party, the Nida al Qammi. He speaks good French and some English. (Written in 1948.) His wife is purdah.

Kadhim al Solh does not seem to have acquired any influence with the Iraqis and I have seldom met him in Iraqi houses.

Persia

Mohammed Shayesteh, Ambassador (31st May, 1950).

M. Shayesteh, who had been Minister in Bagdad since 17th July, 1948, was appointed to be the first Persian Ambassador when Persia and Iraq agreed to raise their Legations to Embassies.

*His previous post was Washington. A friendly little man with a particularly pleasant wife. Both speak English well and have made themselves generally popular. (Written in 1949.)

Saudi Arabia

Abdullah al Khaiyal, Minister (9th February, 1947).

After a period in the Legation as a Secretary and then as Chargé d'Affaires, Abdullah al Khaiyal was appointed Minister in February 1947. He is friendly and intelligent, a genuine Saudi from Riyadh, but is disliked by the Iraqis who suspect the Legation of acting as an intermediary between Rashid Ali and his friends in Iraq. I would not trust him far. He has taken lessons in English from the British Council staff and has made considerable progress.

Last year he surprised Bagdad society by giving the first Saudi party to which ladies were invited. He went home for a month on leave in April, for the first time in many years.

Spain

Juan Manuel de Aristegui, Minister (11th February, 1948).

*Formerly Spanish Consul-General in Jerusalem. He is stout and amiable and speaks passable English. (Written in 1949.)

He is no longer accredited to Amman as well as Bagdad and is now resident here continuously. He has little or nothing to do, but that does not seem to worry him.

Turkey

Rahmi Apak, Minister (16th January, 1950).

M. Nebil Bati, who had always been very friendly, was transferred to Karachi in November and was succeeded by M. Rahmi Apak.

M. Apak is a former army officer whose first diplomatic appointment was as Minister to Portugal, about three years ago.

He was a student at the Turkish Military College with Nuri Pasha and Taha Pasha Hashimi before the first world war, and served for a short time in Iraq in 1916. He was Military Attaché in Moscow from 1924 to 1927 and claims to speak Russian fluently. He left the army to enter the Turkish Parliament where he sat as a Republican Party deputy for about 13 years.

He is a rugged character, and I do not think he is making himself liked by the Iraqis. He is a keen bridge player. He speaks no English, and French with considerable effort. His wife, who is generally lacking in the graces, speaks very little French and no English. She surprised him by arriving unannounced in Bagdad with their daughter soon after his arrival.

United States

The Hon. Edward Savage Crocker, Ambassador (12th March, 1949.)

*Mr. Edward S. Crocker, a career diplomatist, before coming here was Counsellor at Warsaw. He has also served at San Salvador, Rome, Budapest, Stockholm, Tokyo (where he spent eight years) and Lisbon. (Written in 1949.)

Mr. Crocker lacks Mr. Wadsworth's keenness and enthusiasm and I do not think I wrong him in saying that he has not taken the trouble to acquire a real grasp of the problems with which we have to deal. He brought back some enthusiasm for development after his visit to the United States last year, but this evaporated after an ill-advised and unsuccessful press conference which he held here soon after his return. Mr. Crocker is, however, always ready to delegate to his staff whose relations with my staff are close and cordial. Indeed, they usually consult us on any important reports which they are preparing. Mr. Crocker professes to regard Anglo-American co-operation as something so natural that it can be taken for granted, but he is inclined to minimise what the British have achieved in Iraq in the past.

Mr. Crocker has managed to spend nearly half the year away from Bagdad, in visiting other Middle Eastern posts, on leave in the United States, or touring in the north of Iraq. His chief activity is bridge, without which life is miserable for him. Mrs. Crocker spent six months here during the better part of the year. They are both from New England. I must confess that they are not easy.

Representatives accredited to the Iraqi Government but resident elsewhere

Belgium

Count Geoffrey d'Aspremont-Lynden, Minister (5th June, 1947).

*The Minister resides in Beirut and finds it hard to visit Bagdad. He spent three weeks here with his wife in March and April 1949. This was his first visit for about eighteen months. (Written in 1949.) He has not been here since.

M. Laurent Janssen resides here as Chargé d'Affaires. He and his wife are very friendly, but speak no English.

China

Mr. Lee Ginfa has been Chargé d'Affaires since July 1946, and is recognised by the Iraqi Government as representing the Nationalist Government. He and his wife still appear at most diplomatic social functions.

Denmark

M. Axel Sporon-Fiedler, Minister (7th April, 1949).

M. Sporon-Fiedler, who was formerly Danish Consul-General in San Francisco, is also accredited to Tehran where he normally resides. He paid a short visit to Bagdad in April, accompanied by his wife.

Ethiopia

Taffassa Habt-Mikael, Minister (17th September, 1949).

He is also accredited to Cairo, where he normally resides, Jedda, Damascus and Beirut. I have not met him.

Greece

There is at present no Greek Minister accredited to the Iraqi Government.

*M. Nicolas Nadjji Vassiliou who has been Chargé d'Affaires since 27th November, 1947, is also Chargé d'Affaires in Beirut, where he resides. He has paid one short visit to Bagdad since my arrival. He is rather boisterous, and did not impress me altogether favourably. (Written in 1948.)

He has not reappeared.

Indonesia

Haji Dahlan Abdullah, who presented his credentials as the first Indonesian Minister to Iraq on 8th April, 1950, was almost at once taken ill and died on 12th May, 1950. His successor has not yet been named.

The Chargé d'Affaires is the Secretary of Legation, Muhiyeddin Muktar, who is friendly and speaks fair English.

Netherlands

M. W. A. A. M. Daniels, Minister (15th December, 1947).

*M. Daniels resides in Ankara. I have not met him. So far as I know he has not visited Bagdad since my arrival. (Written in 1949.)

M. B. A. Piets is Chargé d'Affaires in Bagdad. He arrived here in July 1949, to establish the Legation. He has an English wife, speaks excellent English and is very friendly. They are a pleasant addition to the diplomatic body.

Norway

M. Ernest Krogh-Hansen, Minister (14th April, 1949).

*M. Krogh-Hansen is accredited also to Turkey and Pakistan and is resident in Ankara. He spent two weeks here after presenting his credentials in the (vain) hope of concluding an Air Agreement rapidly. (Written in 1949.)

He has not been here since.

Soviet Union

There is now no Soviet Minister accredited to Bagdad, M. Zaitsev having been transferred to the Netherlands. Since his departure in June 1948, the Soviet Legation remained in charge of the Second Secretary until 3rd April, 1950, when M. Sergei Nemchinov took charge as First Secretary. M. Nemchinov came from Moscow where he had been concerned with Middle Eastern affairs. He is not an aggressive type of Russian and seems to want to make himself agreeable. He speaks English slowly and carefully. He is married.

Sweden

M. H. Eriksson, Minister (27th June, 1949).

M. Eriksson is also accredited to Tehran and normally resides there.

He paid a short visit to Bagdad in February 1950.

Switzerland

M. F. Kappeler, Chargé d'Affaires *en pied* (26th April, 1950).

The Swiss Minister in Cairo is no longer accredited to Bagdad, Beirut and Damascus, where M. Kappeler has been appointed Chargé d'Affaires. M. Kappeler resides in Beirut. He was in Bagdad for about a month after presenting his credentials. He is friendly, fussy and long-winded. He and his wife both speak English well.

The only resident member of the staff of the Swiss Legation is M. E. Kloeti, Vice-Consul, who describes himself as "Gérant de la Chancellerie Diplomatique."

M. Kloeti's predecessor, M. Alfred Ilg, committed suicide in the Legation in February. He had been in Bagdad for only three and a half months.

Syria

Ahif al Solh, Minister since April 1947, left Bagdad in May 1949, and has since been transferred elsewhere. No new Minister has yet been appointed.

The Chargé d'Affaires is now M. Nassib Chehab, First Secretary, who arrived in April. He had previously served for five years in Cairo and five months in Jedda. He speaks bad French and no English.